密勒氏評論報

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

Formerly Millard's Review

中華郵政特准掛號立券之報紙

Registered at the Chinese Post Office as a Newspaper for transmission with special marks privileges in China

VOLUME XXXIX SHANGHAI, CHINA, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1927 NUMBER 10

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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Cable Address "REVIEWING SHANGHAI"

PUBLISHED AT NO. 4 AVENUE EDWARD VII, SHANGHAI CHINA, BY MILLARD PUBLISHING COMPANY, INCORPORATED BY THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, TEN DOLLARS (CHINESE CURRENCY) IN ADVANCE, POSTAGE INCLUDED IN CHINA AND JAPAN. IN THE UNITED STATES AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES SEVEN DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS U. S. CURRENCY. REMITTANCE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES THAN CHINA AND THE U. S. CAN BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL MONEY ORDER. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER IN THE CHINESE POST OFFICE AT SHANGHAI IN MAY 1917.

Contents

Editorial Paragraphs
Will China Unite Against the Foreigner? 249
The Significance of Britain's Action..... 250
America's Reactions to the Situation Now..... 251
Special Articles
Origin and Aims of the Nationalist Party .....
.....By Chang Wei Chiu 252
Bolshevik Romance and Reality.....By Victor Chernov 254
U. S. Participation in China's Textile Trade.....
..... By B. Y. Lee 257
French Co-operation in Indo-China.....
.....By Alexandre Varenne, Governor General 258
U. S. and British Colonial Contrasts.....By Ralston Hayden 259
France And The Problem Of The Pacific .....
..... By Senator Anatole de Monzie 262
The Machinery Trade of China During 1926.....
..... By W. H. Rastall 266
Men and Events 267
"My Friends, the Cantonese,".....By C. A. Nelson 268
From the Chinese Press 269
New Books of Interest in the Far East..... 271
What Ships Carry between America and China..... v

COMMUNICATIONS PERTAINING TO SUBSCRIPTIONS OR ADVERTISING IN CHINA SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW AT 4 AVENUE EDWARD VII, SHANGHAI, CHINA. TELEPHONE CENTRAL 4741. CABLE ADDRESS "REVIEWING SHANGHAI."

AMERICAN OFFICE
WORLD WIDE NEWS ASSOCIATION
303 Fifth Avenue, New York City
Telephone: Caledonia 5300: Cable Ad: Scholzem, N. Y.
PACIFIC COAST OFFICES (World Wide News Association)
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WILL CHINA UNITE AGAINST THE FOREIGNER?

GEN. CHANG HSUEH-LIANG, son of the famous warlord of Manchuria, Marshal Chang Tso-ling, has declared in an interview broadcasted by one of the news agencies in Peking that "if foreign aggression in China continues, every Chinese, Northerner and Southerner, will rise together to defend the country." Continuing along this line, Gen. Chang explained in effect that although Chinese brothers 'fight inside the house that they will get together when fighting people outside the walls' and that if Great Britain attempts to use force against China that it may bring an end to the civil war and all parties will unite to defend the country as a whole. He concluded the interview by asking the question, "Who knows what will happen?" Which all agree to be a fitting question for the present situation wherein Mr. Eugene Chen, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government is threatening a nation-wide boycott against the British and the British are replying by sending some 20,000 British and Indian troops and naval forces to China for the purpose of protecting the lives and interests of British nationals. Owing to the fact that only the first contingents of the British force have begun to arrive in Shanghai it is still too early to forecast with any degree of accuracy what the result of landing foreign troops on Chinese soil will be. The Chinese population in Shanghai, so far as outward manifestations are concerned are taking the situation philosophically and did not even turn out in any great force to observe the spectacle of foreign soldiers marching through the streets. The first reactions of the Nationalist leaders in Shanghai has been to stimulate them in the direction of efforts to prevent incidents that might precipitate trouble. In addition to this some of the more conservative and older members of the Kuomintang Party in Shanghai have been pushing an agitation for the creation of a neutral district free of all soldiers which would obviate the necessity of the Southerners launching an attack on Marshal Sun Chuan-fang on the outskirts of the foreign settlements and at the same time make it unnecessary for the foreigners to station troops here for the protection of the lives and interests of their nationals.

IN ADDITION to the reactions mentioned above there have been others tending to indicate the direction of the political wind. On Thursday, Jan. 28 Eugene Chen gave out an interview which was circulated by the Japanese *Toho* News Agency to the following effect:

"The British Government is now concentrating a large number of men-of-war in Chinese

waters and is going to form a strong defence corps in Shanghai with marines and troops. I believe, judging from this action, that Britain intends to create such an atmosphere as would lead to a declaration of war against the Revolutionary armies. Britain, therefore, must assume the responsibility for any unhappy incidents in the future."

But on the same day that this was published, the *Toho* Agency sent out a story from Peking which tended to indicate that Marshal Chang Tso-ling and the Peking Government were not altogether displeased with the turn of events at Shanghai. The report was as follows:

"Interviews are taking place between the British Minister and Peking officials, the trend of which is that Britain is 'determined' to return to China all of her concessions. Similar conversations are said to be proceeding between Sir Miles Lampson, British Minister and the chief of the Diplomatic Bureau of the Ankuochun (Fengtien Party). The recent attitude of Britain is giving a favorable impression on both the Ankuochun and the Peking Government. The Peking Government is rather welcoming Britain's dispatch of troops to Shanghai, considering that the city of Shanghai, in which the Peking Government has a great interest in respect to the Customs revenue, has been able to escape the danger of falling into the hands of the Southerners."

IT IS OF COURSE too early in the game for any accurate analysis of the situation, the Chinese of all classes and factions being too stunned by the sensational events of the past few days to be able even to collect their thoughts. It is quite possible that Marshal Chang Tso-ling's first reaction to the leading of British troops was one of elation, since the presence of British troops in Shanghai is undoubtedly embarassing to the Cantonese Nationalists against whom the Mukden warlord has been wageing war in one form or another for a considerable period. Marshal Chang Tso-ling has had one overpowering ambition in life, which was to become emperor and establish a new dynasty, but now that that possibility is past, he is concentrating his attention on the presidency and is undoubtedly more interested in the possibilities of placing himself in this office than in anything else, even the welfare of the land. But Marshal Chang's son, Gen. Chang Hsueh-liang, who has received a modern education, is of a different type and undoubtedly realizes the present perilous situation of his country. These two elements represented in the antithetical attitudes of Marshal Chang Tso-ling and his son are prevalent throughout Chinese life and undoubtedly will influence the reactions of the country generally in respect to the present situation. Dr. C. C. Wu, son of the late Wu Ting-fang, diplomat and statesman, recently declared in the course of an address in Shanghai that the Taiping Rebellion, 1851-1865 was really the beginning of the Chinese revolution. Hung Hsiu Chu'an, a native of Kwangtung province thought he had a call to overthrow the Manchus and establish a new and modern regime, but the Taiping Rebellion failed on account of the excesses of the revolutionists and assistance which the foreigners extended to the Imperialist forces. The Boxer Rebellion at its inception was likewise an attempt at revolution in 1900, but again the failure was caused by excesses and foreign intervention. In 1911 the Revolution started by Sun Yat-sen and his followers was successful in overthrowing the effete and degenerate Manchus, but the aims of the revolutionists were circumvented by Yuan Shi-kai, a militarist of the old school, who obtained foreign assistance in the form of loans whereby he attempted and almost succeeded in making himself emperor. China's present troubles with militarism all date back to the large army which Yuan Shih-kai built up with the money which he borrowed from the Powers, chiefly Great Britain, since the various generals in charge shortly displaced the civilian officials in the provinces and became tuchuns, tupans, and Marshals.

NOW, FOR THE fourth time in the period of a century China is making another attempt at revolution and again the same forces are involved; in different measure of course, but nevertheless are involved in the struggle, because a real revolution establishing the Chinese Republic as a modern state immediately brings a clash with interests, domestic and foreign which are fundamentally opposed to this idea. It is seldom that we find the old and the new so well typified as it was in the reported reactions of Chang Tso-ling and his son, referred to in the foregoing. But there is no disputing the fact that China, that is, Young Nationalist China is up against the real thing in the form of both native and foreign reactionists. It is true of course that modern education is much more prevalent in China today than at any time in the past, and that China is more closely in touch with modern development and thought in other lands than at any time previously, but it must also be recognized that the forces of reaction are now fighting a life and death battle and the struggle is likely to be a bitter one both internally and externally. In the case of Russia the various attempts at intervention only had the effect of more firmly fixing the authority of the revolutionists even to the extent of establishing a'dictatorship of the proletarist' but conditions in Russia were not altogether similar to conditions prevailing in China today. The Russians had never occupied a semi-colonial status similar to what has prevailed in China for so many years, hence the Russian people reacted differently when it came to the question of uniting against the foreign invader. Hence, in view of the great power still possessed by the reactionary militarists and their now open bids for foreign support, it is not by any means certain that the Nationalists will succeed this time. The lack of unity among the Powers and domestic conditions prevailing in practically every country on the face of the earth, are favorable to the Nationalists, but as stated previously firmly entrenched interests have a way of manipulating international politics on short notice so that reactionary interests now in conflict, may ultimately succeed in getting together and unitedly opposing Chinese independence.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BRITAIN'S ACTION

GREAT BRITAIN is now engaged in the unusual enterprise of transporting large military and naval forces to China, the forces consisting of regular troops from both England and India, and marine and naval forces. The total number of men being brought to China is not known exactly, but probably range from 12,000 to 20,000. The number of British subjects residing in China is said to be approximately 16,000 so that the armed forces being sent here probably will equal one rifle for each Briton in China, counting men, women and children. The total foreign expeditionary force dispatched to China

in the Boxer Rebellion by America, Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Japan, and Russia probably did not exceed 25,000, so based on the Boxer experience, Britain's present enterprise is a matter of no mean consequence. Britain's dicision in sending troops to China, the first time in twenty-seven years, was precipitated by circumstances which developed at Hankow which resulted in the occupation of the British Concession at that city the Chinese Nationalist forces. Britain did not have sufficient armed force at Hankow to hold the Concession without firing and creating a debacle, so the British Consul-General at that place very wisely gave the order to withdraw the armed forces and permit the Chinese to come in. But as a result of the general situation thus created, the British decided to evacuate most of their nationals from Hankow and the interior generally. The British reply to Chinese action at Hankow was an order for the mobilization of troops, the first of which, the Indian Punjabis, arrived in Shanghai last week. The purpose of this action, according to the official announcement of the British Government, is for the protection of the lives and properties of British residents in China and in accordance with plans previously drafted the International Settlement and immediate environs are to be occupied by British troops.

ON THURSDAY, Jan. 27, the British Minister in Peking, Sir Miles Lampson handed to Marshal Chang Tso-ling and to the Peking Government and also to Mr. Eugene Chen, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government at Hankow, a memorandum stating Britain's willingness to enter into negotiations for the rendition of the British Concessions and the granting of tariff autonomy as well as modification of the system of extraterritoriality. Owing to the fact that only the preliminary announcement was available when these paragraphs were written, the conditions attached to this offer, were not known, hence we are to assume that Great Britain has now decided to come to a show-down on the China question. In other words, Great Britain has now come to the place where she is ready to negotiate with China for a revision of Sino-British treaty relations, but John Bull is not taking any chances, so is going to negotiate with a pistol in one hand. The issue is therefore well joined, hence the developments of the immediate future are likely to be interesting, especially owing to the fact that both America and Japan have apparently, for the time at least, decided to stay out of it. China, of course, is in no position to oppose Great Britain by force of arms, despite the fact that China has made wonderful development in modern military science and tactics in recent years and in addition has had plenty of practice in the inter-provincial and sectional wars. But China's present military equipment is all 'second-hand' stock, largely due to the fact that China hasn't had the money or enterprise to obtain first class equipment. Furthermore, aside from the Kuomintang and Kuominchun armies, there is no such thing as a modern trained army in China. Therefore, if it came to a real war to the finish China probably would be licked, but Britain's financial resource would also be quite seriously taxed in the enterprise owing to the heavy expense of conducting a war so far from home. Hence, from the present outlook at least, it is not likely that there will be a war from the standpoint of military engagements.

BUT THIS does not mean that there is to be no war in the actual sense for the landing of troops on the shores of another Power is usually interpreted to be an act of war. Here however, the situation is somewhat different for the troops are landed in a foreign concession, hence excuse for the action can probably be defended from the standpoint of international law on the grounds that every nation has the right to protect its nationals. China, although unable to oppose the British action by force, nevertheless has another effective weapon, the economic boycott, a weapon which has been used previously by China against Japan and also against Britain. Therefore, China's natural reaction, or rather Nationalist China's reaction to the British gesture is a threat of breaking off commercial relations. This is therefore where the situation stands today. Britain points the pistol and tells China to be reasonable. China replies by threatening a general boycott, but at the same time states her desire to negotiate providing the negotiations are to be conducted on an 'equal' basis. It is sincerely to be hoped that both sides will put down their guns and be reasonable, but as stated previously and frequently in these columns, the present situation in China is full of dynamite and a false move might very easily precipitate a world conflagration.

AMERICA'S REACTIONS TO THE SITUATION NOW

SOME TWO WEEKS ago, *The Review* published a summary or sort of forecast of American policy toward China in respect to the present situation. At that time there had been no official announcement of American policy toward China, but American policy was quite definitely forecasted through the introduction in Congress of certain measures which would tend to free America's hands for action when the psychological moment for action arrived. The most important of these congressional actions was a bill introduced by Congressman Porter of Pennsylvania, the purpose of which was to enable the United States to revise the present Sino-American Treaties on a basis of mutual equality without reference to the action of other nations. At the Washington Conference the United States was committed to the principle of dealing with China in cooperation with the other Powers, but a half dozen years of effort had shown quite definitely that cooperative action is impossible, the reason being that all of the Powers are reduced to the level of the most reactionary. America has no interest in China except trade, that is, from a fundamental standpoint. America does have an altruistic interest in the betterment of conditions in China, but this in turn might be interpreted, in fact is interpreted by some, as merely a desire to improve the status and independence of the Chinese people in order to make them better customers for American goods and to better enable the Chinese people to produce the products which America requires. Regardless, however of the reasons, America has always pursued an altruistic policy toward China and has never become involved in the intrigues and scrambles for territory on the coast of Asia.

THEREFORE it was but natural that when the crisis came, that America should not participate in a military adventure on the coast of Asia that has possibilities of international complications too far reaching and too obvious to require explanation here. Secretary Kellogg's declaration, although a complete copy is not yet available, apparently was made for the purpose of setting forth

America's case in respect to China for the information of American residents in China and at home, and for the information of the Chinese people and the world generally. America's case is simply that America has no interest in or reason for sending armed forces to China, except for the protection of American lives, should such become necessary. In addition to this America stands ready, when the time arrives to negotiate new treaties with China on a basis of equality. America has no interest whatever in the protection of so-called 'foreign interests' in China, believing that America's best interests in Asia will be served by a strong and independent China which is master of her own household. Therefore, America's first and primary interest in respect to the present situation is to keep her hands free from entanglements which might drag America into the maelstrom of international complications in the Far East. If the strained situation now existing between China and Britain recedes and there is a tendency for the two countries to settle their affairs peaceably, America undoubtedly will stand ready to assist both parties when they signify their desire for such assistance to the end that friendly relations may again be established. But should the situation become more strained and the tendency show inclination in the direction of a return to the old policies of imperialism in Asia, then it is quite likely that we may except another kind of more active American policy in this part of the world. America in the course of her national life, has only developed two international or world policies, the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door. The Monroe Doctrine is now fairly well established and is no longer a matter of dispute but the Open Door is not so well established. However, should the situation in the Far East tend to drift in a backward direction, it is quite possible that America may decide, from the fundamental standpoint of American interests in the Pacific, to invoke the Open Door Doctrine, giving it a meaning which is just as clear and unmistakable as that now implied in the Monroe Doctrine.

Japanese Loan to Chinese Han-yeh-ping Company

The Japanese Savings Fund Administration Committee has approved the proposed loan for the Hanyehping Mining Company at Hankow of two million yen out of the Savings Fund according to an account oppearing recently in the *Japan Chronicle*. The loan will be made through the Yokohama Specie Bank at 6 per cent. per annum, on which ½ per cent. will be paid to the bank as commission. The loan is to be paid back within thirty years in yearly instalments.

The Finance Department will arrange at the same time for an increase of the price paid by the State Ironworks to the Chinese company for pig iron and ores supplied, as requested by Mr. Sheng, the President, who was in Japan a short while ago on the mission to secure the loan, which the company badly needs. Mr. Sheng also asked for a reduction in interest on the 40 million yen outstanding. The Finance Department will not reduce the interest but will give an extension in the time allowed for the interest in arrears. Also an adjustment will be made in the terms in favour of the borrower. Preference is given to Japan in the payment of loans and interest, but hereafter Japan will have the first claim on payment after manufacturing costs and expenses recognised by Japan have been deducted from the fund available for disposal.

The Finance Department is reported to have complied with the request of the mining company and will advance two million yen in order to extricate the business from the disorder it has fallen into. The company is encumbered with salaries and wages in arrears and trade debts and may go down without help. In that case the Finance Department would lose the 40 million yen already anvanced and the interest on it.

Origin and Aims of the Nationalist Party

BY CHANG WEI CHIU

(*Reprinted from Current History Magazine*)

OUTSIDE China the Kuomingtang, or People's Party, which is now showing its strength in so remarkable a manner, has been of late regarded as a Bolshevist organization for the simple reason that it has accepted assistance from Soviet Russia. To what extent the Kuomingtang has been Bolshevized is not known. Even the extent of material aid in money, munitions and strategists is a matter of conjecture. In the meantime, however, it is possible to clear up some of this "Oriental mystery" by an exposition of what the Kuomintang stood for before—and therefore quite independently of—any possible Bolshevist influence.

As a party the Kuomingtang is more than thirty years old. It was first, though, known by another name, a secret revolutionary organization under the leadership of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Until 1911 China was a monarchy under the tyrannical grip of the non-Chinese Manchus, who were impotent to deal with both the internal and the external problems then confronting China. Within were political corruption and racial hatred between Chinese and Manchus; without were designing and aggressive foreign nations. The disintegration of China seemed imminent. To avert this impending catastrophe Dr. Sun led his party in a revolutionary movement to overthrow the Manchu monarchy. The revolution had been brewing since 1895, and in 1911 the Manchu monarchy was deposed in its stead a modern republican form of government was inaugurated.

From 1911 to 1912 the Kuomingtang played a conspicuous part in the formation of the republic, of which Dr. Sun was the first President. Indeed, the party was so powerful that Yuan Shi-kai, Dr. Sun's successor, "dissolved" it. With hundreds of his party associates Dr. Sun was thus exiled to Japan, where he reorganized the party on a revolutionary basis to rescue China from the reactionary mandarin forces that had their centre in Peking. Since 1914 the Kuomingtang has gone through varied experiences—experiences which have served to make clear to its leaders the necessity for continuing its revolutionary activities so as to establish China on the basis of certain definite principles.

These principles, which have been formulated in the light of existing conditions in China and the experience of Western nations, are as old as the party itself. They are three in number—the "Three Principles of the People," as they are popularly called in China. There is nothing strange to an American about them. Dr. Sun, when an exile in the United States, being once asked to explain to an American inquirer what the "Three Principles of the People" were, answered simply, Government of the Chinese people, by the Chinese people, for the Chinese people.

The first principle is nationalism, that is, the emancipation of the Chinese people from foreign rule or control, and equality of all racial groups within China. Before 1911 the rallying cry of the party was "Down with the Manchus." When, however, the Manchus were overthrown, the party had to face a greater peril—European and Japanese imperialism. Hence the formulas "Down with Iuperialism" and "China for the Chinese"—in other words, "government of the people"—the Chinese people. In this formula we have the key to the rise of the new nationalism—a new impulse in China which has had a cultural but not a national consciousness, "patriotism," as it has been understood in the West.

In defining political democracy, the second principle, Dr. Sun made the distinction between direct and indirect democracy. By the former he meant the rights of initiative, referendum and recall; by the latter the right to vote. "These," he declared, "are the four essential rights of the people in a democracy, in which the people not only vote candidates into offices, but, if need be, also recall them after they are seated, and possess the right to initiate laws or to vote upon them after these laws have passed the Legislature." Government under Dr. Sun's principles is to be divided into five branches—the Legislature, the judiciary, the executive, the civil service (with selection of b th civil and military officers by competitive examinations) and an impeaching body, or censors (to bring any guilty official, even the highest in the land, to the bar of justice). "The establishment of this independent impeaching body," Dr. Sun declared with emphasis, "will tend to lessen particularly the corruption practiced at elections prevailing in the so-called parliamentary democracies in the West. The modern democratic system has become a convenient tool of one class of the people, the capitalist class, to exploit the poor. But under the principle

of the Kuomingtang we will establish a political democrrcy not for the benefit of the few rich men but for the benefit of all. Ours is a government by the people, the common people."

The third principle is that of economic democracy, which again has two aspects, the re-adjustment of land-ownership and the regulation of capital. The National Government, according to this principle, should make laws regulating the rent of land, land taxation and the use and value of land based upon report of the landowner himself. As, Dr. Sun put it, "A landowner will neither underrate nor overrate his land, because if he underrate it he must sell at that valuation, while if he overrates it he must bear the added burden of taxation." In an attempt at ridding China of the tenant evil the Kuomingtang principle calls on the Government to provide land for those in need of it, and also the establishment of rural credit banks. With regard to the regulation of capital, the party holds that all enterprises of a monopolistic nature or conducted on such a scale as is beyond the financial resources of individuals (for example, railways, banks and shipping) should be undertaken by the National Government. These two economic proposals aim at securing "government for the people."

The Kuomintang Platform

The present policies, or platform, of the Kuomingtang, formulated at the national convention of the party in January, 1924, and reaffirmed at the last convention in February, 1926, are as follows:

(A) Foreign Policies

1. All present treaties not based on the principle of equality between China and any foreign power to be abrogated (thus convering extraterritoriality, foreign control of tariff, "spheres of influence" and all other political privileges enjoyed by foreign powers at the expense of China,) and all other future treaties to be based on such equality.

2. Any nation voluntarily relinquishing such special privileges is to be treated by China as in actual fact a "most favored nation."

3. No foreign loan made to China to be repudiated unless detrimental to the political and economic rights of China, or contracted by an irresponsible government for illegitimate uses.

4. A national convention of such groups as chambers of commerce, banking associations and educational associations, to be called to advise ways and means to free China from economic bondage to foreign powers by refunding foreign loans.

(B) Domestic Policies

1. The Kuomingtang advocates a middle course between a centralized and a decentralized form of government.

2. Each Province to have the right to establish its own constitution and elect its own officers as it sees fit. Whenever the National and the Provincial constitutions are in conflict, the former prevails. The Governor of a Province to have a dual function as executive of the Province and as representative of National Government.

3. A *Hsien*, or district, shall be recognized as the local administrative unit for self-government, electing and recalling its officers thereof, and initiating and voting upon laws.

All taxes from lands and revenues from water power, forests and mining to go to the Treasury of the *Hsien* Government.

The National Government to give grant-in-aid to any *Hsien* for certain public purposes.

Each *Hsien* to contribute to the Treasury of the National Government a certain percentage of its receipts, from 10 to 50 per cent.

4. A universal suffrage law to be enacted, replacing the existing election law based upon property ownership.

5. A civil service system to be established.

6. Compulsory military conscription to supersede the present recruiting system, and the economic and legal status of the army and navy to be raised, and agricultural and vocational training to be given to soldiers.

7. The right of the people to assemble, to organize and to express themselves in speech or in writing to be guaranteed; and the right of residence and freedom of belief to be protected.

8. The idle and the vicious to be put to compulsory work.

9. Land revenues and rents to be regulated by law, and unnecessary taxes such as *likin* to be abolished.

10. A census to be taken; arable land conserved; and both production and consumption of the people regulated, so as to distribute equitably the wealth of the nation.

11. Labor laws to be enacted; working conditions improved, and labor organizations protected and encouraged.

12. Equality of sex in the legal, economic and educational fields to be promoted.

13. Universal education to be provided.

14. Industrial enterprises of a monopolistic nature or beyond the financial resources of individual entrepreneurs to be undertaken by the National Government.

These are the minimum demands of the Kuomingtang, and "constitute the first immediate step to the salvation of China." That the Kuomingtang is a nationalistic party is evident. The enthusiasm and vigor which the party has recently manifested in its opposition to the Peking Government and to the foreign imperialistic powers, show no direct inspiration by Bolshevism. Other reasons plainly account for the present hold of the Kuomingtang upon the Chinese people. The salvation of China has been the party's definite and positive purpose from its beginning. The Canton Government, which has been under the control of the party, has evidenced a degree of efficiency, honesty and progressiveness in striking contrast to the dilapidated Peking Government. Furthermore, the Kuomingtang has tenaciously and successfully boycotted the Hongkong Government—in Chinese eyes, the only bright page in the history of China'a foreign relations.

The Inspiration of Sun Yat-sen

Perhaps the most important reason for the phenomenal growth of the Kuomingtang is the inspiring personality of its founder, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, patriot and fighter, who dedicated his life to the cause of China. To members of the party Dr. Sun is a martyr, the focus of a new national religion. His principles are being taught in schools, including the missionary schools in the Province of Kwangtung, as a required course, and are daily preached to the youth, to the army, to workingmen and to the people as a whole. Whenever and wherever the Kuomingtang holds sway, Dr. Sun's parting message is recited before the opening of any meeting. Particularly in the Province of Kwangtung the daily routine of the school children invariably begins with a bow to Dr. Sun's picture and a recitation of his parting message. This message, which is being thus graven on the minds of so many millions of Chinese, reads:

For forty years I (Dr. Sun) devoted my life to a revolutionary cause in an attempt to elevate China to a state of freedom and independence. My experience of these eventful years has absolutely convinced me that to attain this cherished goal we must enlist the support of the great mass of people at home and work in cooperation with those nations which treat us on the basis of equality.

The revolutionary movement has not as yet succeeded, and it is therefore imperative that all my fellow-workers should do their utmost in order to realize my "Reconstruction Plan," "Outlines of Reconstructive Policies," "The Three Principles of the People," and the policies enunciated in the manifesto of the Kuomingtang at the first national convention.

Fight on, my fellow-workers, with renewed vigor to bring about a People's Convention for the solution of our national problems and to abolish the unequal treaties with foreign nations, These things must be done in the shortest time possible.

(Signed) Sun Wen (Sun Yat Sen.)

Nationalism, not Bolshevism, is the driving force that moves China today.

Business Opportunities

The following inquiries from American firms pertaining to business connections in China have been received at the American Consulate General at Shanghai. Those desiring further information are requested to apply to the American Consulate.

B. O. No. 199. *Old News Papers.* A Boston firm desires to export old or over issue newspapers to Shanghai for wrapping purposes. (File No. 868. 32.)

B. O. No. 200. *Silk Underwear.* A New York firm desires to get in touch with exporters of silk underwear. (File No. 868. 15.)

B. O. No. 201. *Pad Used in Permanent Hair Waving.* A Chicago firm desires to secure a Shanghai agent to handle its product a pad used in permanently waving women's hair. (File No. 866. 12.)

B. O. No. 202. *Raw Feathers.* A man in New York desires to act as agent in that city for Shanghai exporters of feathers. (File No. 862. 2.)

B. O. No. 203. *Sugar.* A New York firm, wishing to export sugar to China, desires Shanghai representative. (File No. 869. 11.)

B. O. No. 204. *Chinese Linens.* A New York firm desires to be placed in touch with exporters of Chinese linen wear. File No. 868. 13.)

B. N. No. 205. *Linens and Embroideries.* A New Orleans man desires to import Chinese linens and embroideries, especially table covers and spreads. (File No. 868).

Bolshevik Romance and Reality

BY VICTOR CHERNOV

(Reprinted from Foreign Affairs, N. Y.)

THE conflict within the Russian Communist Party has entered upon a new phase. For the first time all the groups of the Opposition have made an attempt to unite and to create a common platform. At the head of this Opposition bloc are nearly all of the most prominent names in the Bolshevik Party: Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Sokolnikov, Shliapnikov, Kollontai, Piatakov, Preobrazhensky, Osinsky, and others. As against these names the party majority can set only those of Bukharin, Stalin, Rykov, and Tomsky. In addition, the Opposition has its unassuming rank and file, and not a few sympathizers who, like Lashevich and Belenky, form secret organizations, apparently acting on their own responsibility and risk. When such sympathizers are apprehended and brought before the highest party tribunals, they conduct themselves with just the same stubborn secretiveness as did the old-time Russian revolutionists before the Tsarist courts.

Only a few at a time did these leaders drop out of the ruling majority group and join the Opposition. At first, for instance, all of them from Trotsky to Sokolnikov, together with the present leaders of the party, struggled against Shliapnikov and Kollontai; then all, from Zinoviev to Kamenev, unanimously agreed to have Trotsky removed from power and Radek disciplined; and, finally, the turn came for Zinoviev and Kamenev themselves to be cast from power. Hence, the leaders of the Opposition could not easily forget the bitter struggles within their own ranks and overcome feelings of antagonism and hostility toward each other; it was even more difficult to work out a definite program.

If we examine carefully the history of these defections, schisms, and desertions to the ranks of the Opposition, if we analyze one by one the factions of the Opposition, now united, we find that they can all be brought under one category. The Opposition personifies Bolshevik romance coming into conflict with everyday reality, and suffering thereby one defeat after another.

Stalin and his group are the realists of Bolshevism. They quietly accept the fact that "the flowers have faded and the fires have burned out" and that the time of planning on a gigantic scale has passed. They easily reconcile themselves to any inconsistencies or contradictions which result from concessions to life. They are optimists in the sense that they see the bright rather than the shady side of everything attained by their policy. In short, they decided "to fit the foot to the boot," not to stake their all on the world social revolution, and to reconcile themselves to the fact that the stabilization of "*bourgeois* Europe" would compel them for a long time to come to settle down somehow within the encircling "jungle" of world capitalism and to seek means of mutual adaptation. Likewise within the country they seek means of adaptation to the peasant jungle" which surrounds Soviet industry, and are now trying to create something in the nature of a network of peasant cooperatives, which might serve as a buffer between the "state socialism" (or to be more exact "state capitalism") of the Soviet trusts and the remnants of private capitalistic relationships.

Many observers are now fully convinced that the ruling group and the Opposition represent in embryo two different parties: the Stalin group is the future Nationalist-Bolshevik Party, which for a long time will remain confined within the shell of the present Soviet union, adapting itself in great degree to the agrarian character of the country. The Opposition is the International-Communist Party, subordinating all internal Problems to the prospects of world revolution, and making the greatest efforts to approximate the evolution of Russia to that of the highly industrial world of Western Europe.

The Opposition clings tenaciously to the remnants of that Bolshevik romance which is contained in the original precepts evolved through pure reason by the dogmatic mind of Lenin.

From this point of view the ruling group and the Opposition represent the breaking-up of Leninism into its component elements. Lenin was the two-faced Janus of Bolshevism. On one side there showed the face of a fanatic, a cold theoretician and drafter of dogmas, a compiler of a catechism of social philosophy which tolerates no deviations—the face of an old-time religious sectarian, except that he took Marx's "Capital" for his Bible. The other side showed the face of a crafty practical politician, who gives little consideration to his own dogmas in his choice of tactics for the immediate present. In this respect Lenin represents a true national type. Such fanatics exercise a great hypnotic influence over the masses, and not infrequently use their hypnotism deliberately. Thus they are enabled to make their way in a labyrinth of complicated situations with the ease of shrewd practical men, who are ready to sanctify any and all means for the sake of the desired end.

Lenin's power consisted not in the depth of his theoretical understanding, not in his foresightedness and skillful predictions; his diagnoses and prognoses again and again fell flat Capricious history continually set stumbling blocks in the way of their fulfillment. Lenin's power consisted, in the first place, in his will, developed to an unusual degree and thus easily dominating over other weaker characters; in the second place, and most important, in his skill and resourcefulness as a tactician. Lenin in his struggles disliked the careful planning out of tactics; he infected everybody with his readiness to try now one stratagem, now another, to retreat once and again, and at the same time to save energy for new attacks and faith in ultimate victory. With all this he was a thorough realist, unceremoniously thrusting aside any theories and principles which stood in the way, not excepting his own. And it was not always clear whether he created such theories and principles merely for the simpletons who could not get along without them, or whether he himself was fascinated by them—with that cold, purely mental fascination of a builder of systems, who is carried away by their harmony, symmetry and immensity of sweep. Lenin was not a romanticist by nature. He possessed an exaltation of a different kind; it was the exaltation of intense hatred, forged by the years of prison, exile, and life in hiding, and by the oppressions of a despotic autocracy. And it was this spirit which generated systems saturated with the romanticism of violence and retaliation, of "will and power"—that same spirit which the great romantic philosopher, Nietzsche, has defined as a longing "to put one's hand upon the centuries as upon a piece of soft wax."

Subsequent to the success of the October revolution the first and sharpest conflict between Bolshevik romance and its own inherent prose arose at the time of the infamous peace of Brest-Litovsk. Bolshevik romance insisted that the imperialist war was an "alien" war and should be unmasked; and the only way to unmask it was to transform it into a civil war. But that was not all. According to Lenin, out of the epoch of civil wars, superseding the imperialist war, a new world war must inevitably emerge, but with a complete regrouping of all forces. A revolutionary coalition of socialist states would engage in a "final, decisive battle" against a counter-revolutionary coalition, and this battle would decide the fate of the world, the fate of the proletariat, the fate of socialism and capitalism.

Such was Bolshevik romance. It demanded by radio-telegraph "an armistice on all fronts," calling upon the peoples to overthrow any governments which dared not to join in such an armistice. And, in particular, it threatened the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs with a "holy revolutionary war," if they should dare to take advantage of the peace-loving Russian proletariat. But they did not take fright, and did take advantage. It was at this juncture that the first great crisis of the Bolshevik party occurred.

Now Lenin the realist, with cynical frankness, simply threw overboard everything which Lenin the romanticist, the theoretician of the world "revolutionary war," had written so eloquently. He had to dash cold water on the ardor of the "Left-Communists," who had been inspired by his own former preaching, and among whom were to be found almost all of his most faithful and brilliant pupils and followers. Lenin astounded them with his preposterous demand that they submit to the yoke of the conqueror, that they lower the red flag before the sharp-pointed helmet of Prussian militarism.

Zinoviev has recently related what happened at the congress of the Comintern in session at the time of the Polish-Soviet war, when the Red Army was advancing on Warsaw. Each day the delegates, incapable of thinking about anything else, crowded about the large military map. They already dreamed of breaking their way through Poland to Germany, where they could give vent both to their feeling of revenge and to their revolutionary enthusiasm; and Trotsky already threatened to settle accounts with the Entente—on the banks of the Rhine.

And again the prose of life's realities mercilessly tore off one by one all the petals from the red flower of the romantic utopia. A new "little Brest"—the Riga peace treaty—definitely undermined the spirit which nourished the Opposition of the "Left Communists,"

Nevertheless, the romance of a world-wide Red war lives even today in some minds. The Soviet Union is regarded as the advance-guard of all the "colonial nations" of the world, which sooner or later will lead these Asiatic peoples in their revolt against the "imperialist vultures;" but, having profited by experience, Bolshevik diplomacy contents itself with merely inciting the step-children of history to rebellion, and cautiously retreats whenever conflicts threaten to drag it into a military adventure.

Romance in foreign policy was replaced by romance in domestic policy. Bolshevism, in order to insure victory in the civil war, had to fire the imagination of the masses, promising everything—bread to the peasants, land to the workers, immediate socialism with direct and wholesale confiscations, complete local autonomy, destruction of the former state machinery, the gradual withering away of the state, equal remuneration for service from the common laborer to the Soviet Commissar. However, this semi-anarchistic romance ended when reality again entered into its own. In the factories the strict system of one-man control was reestablished; specialists, even the former owners, were attracted by high salaries, bonuses and premiums. It was declared that the epoch of confiscations and "local autonomy" was an epoch of "disorganized socialism" and that "organized socialism" should take its place. There arose a strict system of "military communism." All branches of industry were divided on paper into "departments," headed by the Supreme Council of National Economy. All commodities were to be nationalized, everything was to go into the "common pot." Money was not necessary in a socialist society. A unified economic plan topped the edifice. At its foundation lay the grandiose scheme of the electrification of the whole of Russia. As the age of steam was the age of capitalism, so the age of electricity was to be the age of socialism.

Such was the voice of romance. But reality spoke otherwise. In fact, there could be no thought of any kind of socialism. Surrounded by civil war on all sides, cut off from the grain-fields of the south, from the coal of the Donetz basin, from the oil of the Caucasus, from the ore of the Urals—Russia could hardly think about systematic production. The Bolshevik romanticists preferred to close their eyes to these stern realities of life's prose, adorning that prose with the rich colorings of romantic fantasies. They deceived themselves into imagining that they were practicing pure communism—only in an impoverished country which would quickly be transformed into a rich country.

But as soon as the civil war was liquidated on all fronts, unembellished reality necessarily entered into its own, and the romantic mirage was dispelled. Military communism had to collapse, and with it a multitude of illusions it had engendered.

The conflict in the Communist Party now entered upon a new phase. This occurred at the time of the famous "trade union discussion." The question about the trade unions was, of course, only an incidental one: the party was not yet fully aware that it was, in fact, quarrelling about the very foundations of military communism. And Lenin was again victorious, owing to dissensions in the ranks of the "Left-Communists," divided into four groups over the question of the share of the unions in directing industry.

Lenin had to compromise to some extent. He placed leading members of the Opposition in the central organs of the Party, but he demanded a high price for his concessions. At the same time, by intimidating the party with threats of danger from without, he succeeded in having all discussions and factions looked upon as a luxury which the party could not yet afford.

People often marvelled at the fact that it cost Lenin so little effort in March, 1921—under the thunder of cannon of the Kronstadt revolt and under the dull rumbling of the general uprising of the Tambov peasantry—to turn his rudder sharply to the right and to steer at full speed from military communism to the "new economic policy." It was amazing to see how the whole party followed blindly after him and how weak and timid was the opposition. The fact had not been taken into account that the "trade-union discussion" itself had cleared the way for this unity. The cruel reality of life was a single force, while the means of escape from it in the clouds of romance were many.

During the period of the "new economic policy" the four important opposition groups finally fitted themselves into the framework of the Soviet system. The section of the party which stood for "iron Leninist unity" now had to face only the "workers' opposition." But this movement lacked a positive program to oppose to the opportunist "new economic policy," and so remained a turbulent expression of the discontent of proletarians cast down from the heights of romantic expectation into the depths of workaday reality.

The overthrow of Bolshevik romance by Bolshevik reality was complicated by the personal tragedy of the overstrained leader—the slow agony of waning mental powers. The tormenting period of befogged reasoning was broken by clear intervals when his brain continued feverishly to seek a way out of the blind-alley. He worked out some general conclusions, sketched only in rough outline, involving a complete revision of established views on socialism, an attempt to devise a new brand of "cooperative socialism," and the replacement of the old "industrial" formula, "the dictatorship of the proletariat plus electrification equals socialism" by a new "agrarian" formula, "the dictatorship of the proletariat plus cooperation equals socialism."

While the leader and uncrowned king of Bolshevism was dying a slow death, quarrels and dissensions abated, as if by the force of a tacit agreement. The "iron Leninist unity" of the party seemed to triumph over all misunderstandings or attempts to break it. This agreement, strengthened by vows of fidelity at his grave, held good for a long time. The memory of Lenin silenced criticism.

But the agreement was superficial. Bolshevik romance, suppressed as a political principle, took on an intensely personal aspect. The logic of dictatorship demanded that someone should occupy the vacant place.

Lenin had his brilliant second, Leon Trotsky, who had arrived at the same goal as he, though by another route; and there was his trio of close "adjutants"—Kamenev, Zinoviev and Stalin. Trotsky had long before worked out his own theory of revolutionary romance. It bore a high-sounding name—"the theory of permanent revolution."

This new concept which Trotsky had contrived appeared to reconcile various preceding theories. According to it, the Russian Revolution could not commence in any other way than in the form of a middle class revolution (here the Mensheviks are right). But in the development of events, the hegemony had to pass from the middle class to the proletariat, who also could take advantage of the revolutionary moods of the peasantry (here the Bolsheviks are right or almost right). This transition meant at the same time a broadening-out of the purely middle-class aims, tasks and potentialities of the revolution (here the Social Revolutionaries have the kernel of truth, though distorted). But the Russian Revolution was not merely a national revolution: having overthrown the stronghold of counter-revolution in Europe, the Russian autocracy, it was to be a signal for the outbreak of the proletarian revolution in western Europe. This revolution, in view of the economic preparedness of Europe for socialism, would also draw Russia into still more radical metamorphoses (thus are to be realized the prophecies of the Maximalists).

Shortly after Lenin's death Trotsky tried to prove that the Bolshevik revolution in general was going "Trotsky's way," and that Bolshevism itself had become real, "Red October" Bolshevism only after it had departed from the old, typically Social-Democratic point of view of the middle-class revolution, and had displayed readiness to deepen the revolution steadily to its maximum potentialities. The first failure of Bolshevik Maximalism did not refute the theory since, at the very start, they failed to kindle the conflagration of revolution in the West, and hence could not avail themselves of the aid of that proletarian revolution to draw Russia into the course of socialism. The practical conclusion is clear: it is necessary again and again "to pierce with the Red Army bayonet the frame of European stabilization."

All the idealistic "Old Guard" of Bolshevism, like a disturbed ant-hill, became alarmed when they sensed towards what goal this Bolshevik neophyte, who only three years before was a Menshevik, was aspiring. His outspoken ambition to become the "ruling mind" of the whole party, his suspected ambition to play the role of a Red Soviet Bonaparte, his intrigues with the remnants of the former Left-Communist opposition—all this, taken together, united and armed the ruling circles against him. Trotsky fell into disgrace. The upper ranks of the Red Army were carefully purged of his supporters. He temporarily yielded, earned a half-pardon—and awaited the hour of his revenge.

In the meantime, the end of the "new economic policy," already extended beyond its original limits, had been reached. Only to the extent that it liberated the country from military communism was it possible to achieve any success in the industrial field, and only then could the spontaneous, organic "reconstruction process" begin. This reconstruction process did not apply to Russia alone but to the whole world, and its purpose was to heal the wounds inflicted by the World War and to regain the pre-war status with a minimum expenditure of time and energy.

The prospects of future success along the lines of industrial reconstruction were a powerful temptation to the leaders of the party to proceed further in the direction of an extended "newest new economic policy," of increasing production and the wealth of the country in every possible way. Was not the communist dictatorship strong enough to allow itself the luxury of making peace not only with the middle peasant but with the rich peasant? And Bukharin proclaimed throughout the land his impressionistic slogan: "Get rich."

All the forebodings of "Left Communism," all the bitter complaints of the "workers' opposition," all the sarcastic prophecies of the socialist anti-Bolsheviks were now confirmed in a manner so striking that even staunch veteran Bolsheviks became alarmed, and the split in the party penetrated to its very heart. Such pillars of communism as

Kamenev and Zinoviev now began to talk about the degeneration of the party. The quiet "seizure" of power by one of the triumvirate, Stalin, who had virtually brought under his control the entire organizational apparatus of the party, was probably also responsible in great measure for opening the eyes of Zinoviev and Kamenev. These two apostles of the deceased Bolshevik Messiah hurriedly drew up the fundamental tenets of their program, designed to ward off the dangers threatening Bolshevism: no further extension of the "new economic policy;" close supervision of the private trader in the town and the rich peasant in the village; serious attempts to make real the workers' dream of equal wages and so check the spreading spirit of disillusionment.

The New Opposition maintained that the chief stronghold remaining in the hands of the proletarian dictatorship—state industry—must be regarded, not as socialist industry but as closely bordering on "state capitalism." It was also the firm belief of this Opposition that out of state capitalism, at an unfavorable turn of political events, ordinary private capitalism might easily emerge before the workers would even have time to be aware of it. In view of such a threatening danger from the right, the slogans of the Opposition were: amnesty for all members of the former Left Opposition, freedom of discussion, democracy within the party!

At this juncture it became clear in what a firm grip merciless Bolshevik reality held the party. The leaders of yesterday were dethroned and their followers discredited. An unconditional veto was placed upon the further preaching of their "criminal ideas."

The entry of Kamenev and Zinoviev into the ranks of the Opposition marked a turning-point in its history. Thenceforth the Opposition would try to form a bloc with a unified program.

So here was the "New Opposition" against the "new economic policy." But in the name of what positive political program?

Until recently this had seemed an enigma. Little by little it has been cleared up. And now, if we closely examine the disconnected fragments of the ideas of the Opposition which reach us through the crooked mirror of the official press, the platform of the united Opposition appears entirely comprehensible in all its fundamental measures. It may be divided into four sections:

Industry, as the more complex and delicate mechanism, suffered most of all from the destruction of the World War and the chaos of civil wars. Peasant economy more quickly responded to the restorative process. Since this disproportion is unfavorable for the proletarian dictatorship, a sharp turn in the direction of the industrialization of the country is made necessary. It is likewise important that the wages of workers should be increased. Also, the "private trader"—a new threatening force undermining the foundations of Communism—must be continuously clipped close—but without killing him, so that he may be sheared again. Further, the state economic agencies are constantly "fraternizing" with private traders, and must be thoroughly reformed.

The peasantry constitutes a petty *bourgeois* element. A more conciliatory attitude towards the peasantry than towards the private trader is a question of political tactics; in an economic sense, it is as necessary to suppress the one as the other. Hence, there must be a systematic draining of resources from the peasantry into state industry: higher prices for manufactured goods, and higher taxes. Among the peasants class differentiation is growing to an alarming extent: the "middle peasant" is disappearing, thereby augmenting the ranks of both the poor and the rich peasants. Since the latter represent a rapacious element, of little value to industry, their expropriation appears desirable.

The present Soviet power is "far from proletarian in character" (Trotsky). It has already acquired mixed, compromising, "worker-peasant" tendencies. "Specialists" are gradually penetrating into the highest government agencies, and the most responsible Communists are exposed to their influence. Suffrage restrictions of the propertied classes are gradually being revoked or remain a dead letter; the proportion of Communists elected to the village Soviets has greatly diminished; the poor peasantry has in part used its power for "economic advancement" and become *bourgeois*. It is necessary to restrict further the voting rights of the propertied classes, to pass more rigorous election laws; and in the village, to return, in general, to a regime of the political dictatorship of the poor peasantry.

This already constitutes quite a consistent program. It is saturated through and through with a spirit of "peasant-phobia." Stalin's program is much more realistic and shows greater understanding of the peasant nature; it is much better adapted to life, carefully and opportunistically balancing between the tendency towards industrialization and the difficulties with which its realization is accompanied.

There remains to be examined the fourth section of the Opposition platform: Problems of Inner-Party Life. Here the Opposition itself is very much divided, having a great variety of solutions to offer.

Zinoviev proffered his solution even before he was outlawed into the ranks of the Opposition: the creation of a safety-valve in the form of a group of "honest non-partisans," *i. e.*, non-communists in full accord with the Soviet power. Sokolnikov alone had the courage to propose that the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries be recognized: but had his suggestion not been made in strict confidence, it would have aroused a terrific storm. Ossovsky reiterated Sokolnikov's proposal, with modifications to the effect that these parties might be induced to change their names and take an oath of allegiance to the Soviet Government and that undesirable leaders might be sifted out and only harmless ones left. In a word, there could be manufactured "substitute" Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. The answer to this plan of Ossovsky was his expulsion from the party.

All the possibilities of finding a safety-valve outside of the party were exhausted. Then Trotsky renewed his old demand that a safety-valve within the party be opened, that there be complete democracy within the party, freedom of groupings into factions, and permanent freedom of discussion.

But if factional freedom was considered dangerous even at a time when the Opposition was divided into many groups, legalization of factions, now that the Opposition formed a unified bloc, would mean a fatal split in the party, would be identical to placing two political parties under one roof. Factions of yesterday might easily become independent parties today or tomorrow.

But the essence of the Bolshevik party dictatorship consists in strict parallelism of the Soviet rule with the party method of control, a parallelism by which the execution of party decrees and instructions by the Soviet institutions takes place with maximum celerity and accuracy.

A split in the party would mean a split in the Soviet rule, *i. e.*, the death of the dictatorship. Under a democracy parties can replace each other painlessly, without any conflict. But under a dictatorship a split in the dictating party means the sending of the Dantons to the galleys by the Robespierres.

So there is no solution. The party is suffocating in its own political monopoly. There is no breathing-hole, either outside the party limits or within them. Such is the logic of dictatorship. Its existence is no longer justified either by an external enemy, or civil war, or intervention, or blockade. There is no possibility of its setting out upon an external military adventure, which would enrich the dictatorship with a new "real meaning." And at home it is not a period of great tasks for the Bolsheviks: instead of innovations on a world-wide scale—stabilization and minute every-day work; instead of great deeds—petty details.

And as for the conflict between the former romance and the present reality of Bolshevism, it is making itself evident every day, every moment. Recently, according to Lomov's report, the Communist Party in Moscow conducted an inquiry as to the conditions of labor of workers in private enterprises as compared with those of workers in state enterprises. The results were astounding. Everywhere the conditions of labor in private enterprises were significantly more favorable for the workers. Thus in the Rogozhsko-Simonovsky region the wages of textile workers were 26 percent higher, of chemical workers 28 percent, and of metal workers 37 percent; in the Baumanovski region the wages in private establishments everywhere exceeded the pre-war level and, of course, were higher than in state enterprises—the excess in individual cases amounting to 40 to 50 percent. According to the data of the All-Russian Central Soviet of Trade Unions, this phenomenon is general: as early as 1924, the wages in private enterprises exceeded those in state enterprises by 25 percent (leather workers), by 37 percent (needle-trade workers), by 41 percent (wood-workers), by 47 percent (cotton workers), and on the average by 30 percent.

Moreover, in state enterprises the percentage of Communist workers fluctuates from 15 to 19, while in private establishments it falls to from 3 to 5 percent. Cases are not rare in which this "statistical propaganda" results in the workers "considering that their exploitation by capitalists is entirely normal and that it is the greatest misfortune to be a worker in a state enterprise." And since in Moscow for every ten workers there is at least one working in a private establishment (12 to 13 percent of all the workers of Moscow), the truth will out.

Imagine the position of a Communist who must prove to the workers that they should strike when employed by a private enterprise, where conditions are better, but should not strike when employed by a state trust, where conditions are worse, and further that they should desire the annihil-

ation of private enterprises and their replacement by state trusts.

Perhaps under these circumstances Stalin is entirely correct from his point of view in considering it necessary to put down energetically all waverings, quarrels, disagreements, and differences of opinion within the party. By so doing, however, the party is inflicting the severest punishment on itself.

The more a disease is driven within, the more virulent it becomes, and from time to time infallibly forces its way to the surface. Such eruptions in the party, by their unexpectedness and vehemence, literally overwhelm the ordinary worker who can not comprehend what is going on behind the scenes of the Soviet power. And worst of all he is compelled—in the short space of time allotted for discussion prior to the ensuing conference or congress called to settle all disputes—to straighten everything out in his mind and give his vote, in order that again an end be put to all differences of opinion and that the new undisputed truth of the ruling group be left undisturbed. It is natural that this helpless worker—deafened by the uproar of the leaders' mutual accusations—should only be bewildered by all these discussions and deliver his vote into the hands of the party bureaucracy, the all-powerful political machine.

The Opposition is the irrepressible conscience of Communism; the ruling group its practical reasoning power. The Opposition represents the theoretical romance of Bolshevism. The political machine is the living incarnation of triumphant reality. The Opposition rebels; but the ruling group, poised and self-confident, reigns supreme. All the most talented leaders of Bolshevism may go over to the Opposition, but the collective mediocrity of the "machine" will master them and break down their resistance in the future as in the past.

Both the Opposition and the ruling group have each their own historical mission. The ruling party bureaucracy with its leanings away from romance towards reality, impelled by experience and the pressure of actual conditions, makes use of romance only as camouflage. The Opposition does not allow the ruling group to label these tendencies as an adequate incarnation of the prescribed theories of communism, and mercilessly lays bare their undoubted opportunism and lack of principle. Which group is more useful for Russia? Both. Only by their united efforts can they nourish the Bolshevik crisis—a crisis which will result not in growth but in decomposition, due to failure to pass the acid test of life.

Business Opportunities

The following inquiries from American firms seeking business connections in China have been received at the office of the U. S. Trade Commissioner. Those interested are requested to make inquiry of the Commissioner, Dollar Building, Shanghai.

Motor Cars: Manufacturers of high class motor cars wish to secure an agency in this territory.

Stoves and Hot Water Heaters: Exporter of stoves operated by kerosene, benzine, paraffine, etc., and of hot water heaters wish to secure representation in China.

Eye Shields: Exporter of eye shields (protectors against light) would like to enter the China market.

Curled Hair Products: Manufacturers of sterillized curled hair products, suitable for upholstering purposes want to enter the China market. Samples and pamphlets on file at this office.

Rubber Heels: Manufacturers of rubber heels of all kinds are interested in securing either buying distributors or responsible manufacturers agent in China.

Old Newspapers, Broken White Glass, California Sardines, Scrap Brass and Copper, etc. Exporters of old newspapers, broken white glass, California Sardines, fresh fruits, scrap brass and copper, resin, and paraffine wax are anxious to enter the Shanghai market.

Apples: Exporters of apples would like to make connections for the sale of their product.

Bristles, Furs, Egg Products, Wool Rugs, Sheepwool, Cotton, etc.: New York firm would like to get in touch with a reliable firm in North China from whom they could buy all kinds of raw products, including bristles, furs, egg products, wool rugs, sheepwool, cotton, etc.

Cotton Piece Goods: Exporters of cotton goods, principally voiles of low quality, organdies and fancy cotton goods would like to secure a reliable agent to handle their lines on a commission basis.

Motor Coaches: Manufacturers of motor busses would like to enter the China market. Catalogues on file at this office.

Refrigerators: Export sales agents of refrigerators wish to market their product in China. Leaflet on file at this office.

Bath Tubs: Manufacturers of bath tubs suitable for use where there are no modern plumbing conveniences, and which can also be used as tables, are anxious to enter the China market. Leaflets on file at this office.

U. S. Participation in China's Textile Trade

BY B. Y. LEE

The importance of American participation in the textile trade in China has been marked in recent years. The trade consists of cotton piece goods, raw cotton, knitting, cotton spinning, and weaving machinery, textile mill supplies and lubricating oil, and the control and operation of textile mills. Since 1923 the Americans have begun to act as trustees for three large Chinese cotton mills. The trade of American cotton piece goods is the oldest item in the list and the following figures show the value imported in recent years:

1916	1,753,500 taels	1921	2,961,586
1917	441,160	1922	2,180,488
1918	690,674	1923	384,817
1919	2,116,235	1924	672,746
1920	2,173,100	1925	1,310,756

America ranks third in this trade in China, only next to Japan and Great Britain. Only fine grades of cotton piece goods have been imported from America, while the low grades have been either imported from Japan or supplied by domestic mills for the poorer classes of the people, for whom cheapness in an article is very often the first consideration. The width of the imported American cotton piece goods, usually 32 inches, does not suit the taste of the people here while that of imported Japanese or British goods is usually of 24 inches or less. The American exporters also have not as yet given credit facilities to the Chinese dealers such as the British and Japanese merchants have done for many years.

Import of American Cotton

The import of American cotton into China varies according to the price. Most cotton mills in China only spin low counts of yarn, from 10's to 16's mostly, and hence do not use a large quantity of the long staple cotton unless price is cheap or fine counts of the yarn are spun. The price of American low middling delivered ex-wharf at Shanghai has been usually from 5 to 10 taels per picul higher than that of local cotton. During this season as it is reported that about three quarters of a million bales of American cotton will be imported because its price is only from 2 to 5 taels per picul higher than that of local Tunchow grade. The following shows the amount of American cotton imported into China during recent years:

	piculs		piculs
1913	134,735	1920	678,297
1914	126,488	1921	516,676
1915	364,390	1922	155,319
1916	407,644	1923	150,500
1917	300,128	1924	146,810
1918	190,110	1925	235,000
1919	239,000		

American Machinery Imports

The import of American textile machinery constitutes a large percentage of the American textile trade in China. The first automatic seamless knitting machine was introduced into Hong Kong in 1900 by the Banners company, an American machinery manufacturer, who employed a Chinese returned student to act as his agent. At present Hong Kong, including Canton, has in operation about 1,000 automatic machines and Shanghai including its neighborhood has about 900 American knitting machines. The makers are Scott & Williams, the Banners and the Brinton and they are represented by Andersen, Meyer Company, the Elbrook Inc; and the Wha Chung Trading Company. It is often said that the knitting factory in China is a purely American institution because practically all machinery and methods of management of these factories were introduced from America.

American spindles were first introduced into China in 1918. The Hou Sung Cotton Mill in Shanghai and the Wha Shing Mill in Tientsin ordered their machinery through Andersen, Meyer & Company in 1917 and began operation in 1918. Since then about one million and a quarter of American spindles have been put in operation in China including about 100,000 in the Japanese owned mills. The machinery makers are Saoo-Lowell, the Whitin, and the Mason shops and they are represented in China by Andersen, Meyer Co; the Elbrook Inc; and the Wha Chung Trading Company. The following figures are the value of American textile machinery imported into China in recent years:

1922	6,087,336 taels
1923	890,816
1924	605,068

During the past few years the cotton mill industry has been dull and the import of textile machinery has temporarily declined. About 5,000 power looms out of 23,000 in oper-

ation have been imported from America. The imports of cotton mill supplies on the average a year amounts to about one million dollars. More than 50% of the imported lubricating oil for cotton mill use is also imported from America. Three American firms, the Standard Oil Company, the Vaccum Oil Company and the Texas Company share the business. The value of the lubricating oil imported into China in recent years is as follows:

1922	2,090,415 taels
1923	2,387,261
1924	2,649,764
1925	1,509,591

American participation in the operation of textile mills in China is divided into two kinds. The Elbrook Company has lately become interested in a carpet factory and Andersen, Meyer & Company in cotton mills, acting as trustees. The following are a list of factories of the Elbrook company:

Location	factories	Amount of capital invested
Tientsin	Elbrook Carpet factories No. 1, 2, 3,	$1,000,000
Shanghai	Elbrook Carpet factory No. 1	$ 300,000
Tientsin	Elbrook Spinning Mill	$ 500,000

No. of Operatives	Years established
1,000	1922,1923 and 1924
300	1924 (reorganised)
100	1924

The product of the above mentioned factories is only for export, especially to America. The Elbrook Spinning Mill only spins woollen yarn to supply these carpet factories.

Andersen, Meyer & Company now act as trustees for the following Chinese cotton mills:

Name	Location	No. of sp.	No. of looms	Capital
Paocheng No. 3	Tientsin	50,000		$3,000,000
Yu Foong	Chengchow, Honan	51,480	200	$2,000,000
Chiu Shing	Kiukiang, Kiangsi	15,360	300	$1,000,000

The above mentioned mills ordered their machinery when the cotton mill industry was at the zenith of prosperity and when foreign exchange rates in term of the silver dollar were favourable. Unfortunately the depression came too early and this caused these mills to fall into a difficult position. Part of the payment due to Andersen, Meyer & Company on the machinery purchased has not yet been fully met and the latter temporarily acts as trustees for these mills and will eventually give them back to the owners when the debts are fully paid.

Shanghai, Jan. 25, 1927

Twenty-five Officers Accompany British Military Force

The following list, cabled by *Reuters* on Jan. 25 comprises the officers and staff of the British military force now being sent to China. According to a *United Press* message published on Jan. 28 the total British military and naval force being dispatched to China will be approximately 20,000 men, approximately half the total international force dispatched to China by the Powers in the Boxer Rebellion. The list of officers follows:

Commander

Major-General John Duncan, C. B., C. M. G., C. V. O. D. S. O.

General Staff

G.S.O. 1 Colonel Viscount Gort, V.C., D.S.O., M.V.O., M.C (Grenadier Guards)

G.S.O. 2 Major the Hon. P.G. Scarlett, M,C. (The Buffs)

G.S.O. 2 MajorR.D. Bennett, M.C. (Midd lesex Regt.)

G.S.O. 3 Capt. J.F. Ferguson (Durham Light Infantry)

G.S.O. 3 Capt. E.R. Kennedy (Indian Army)

ADMINISTRATIVE & QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S BRANCHES

Asst. Adjutant and Quartermaster General, Colonel W.D.S. Brownrigg, D.S.O. (Sherwood Foresters)

Deputy Asst. Adjutant General, Major J.A. Churchill, M.C. (Durham Light Infantry)

Deputy Asst. Quartermaster General, Major M.J.A. Jourdier, D.S. O. (East Surreys)

Staff Captain, Capt. B.O. Hutchison (7th Hussars)

SERVICES

Officer Commanding Royal Army Service Corps, Lt. Col. D.C. Cameron, O.B.E.

Asst. Director Medical Services, Colonel H. Ensor, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., M.B., (R.A.M.C.)

Asst. Director Ordnance Services, Colonel C.M. Stephen, C.M.G.,

Senior Veterinary Officer, Major L. Danles.

Personal Appointments

A. D. C. Lieut. Knight (8th Hussars)

A. D. C. Captain Stopford (Royal Artillery)

Special Appointments

Base Commandant

Colonel (Colonel on the Staff) H. de C. Martelli, D. S. O. (R. A.)

D. A. C. M. G., Major W. W. Wagstaff (Beds. & Herts. Regt.)

Deputy Ass. Provost Marshal, Capt. J. A. Jervois, D. S. O., M. C. (K. O. Y. L. I.)

Senior Chaplain, Rev. M. W. Shewell

Attached Royal Artillery Officer, Lt. Col. T. G. G. Heywood, O. B. E. (R. A.)

Commanding Royal Engineers, Major E. A. H. James.

Brigade Commanders

13th Brigade, Colonel W. A. Blake, C. M. G., D. S. O. (The King's Regt.)

14th Brigade, Colonel Sir J. L. Burnett (Bart, of Leys) C. M. G., D. S. O. (Gordon Highlanders)

20th Indian. Brigade, Colonel P. B. Sangster, C. M. G., D. S. O.

French Co-operation In Indo-China

BY ALEXANDRE VARENNE, GOVERNOR GENERAL

(*Reprinted from Paris Edition Chicago Tribune*)

LET no one be deceived. Our full confidence rests in the destiny of these intelligent and hard-working people, whose progress is visible and who should achieve very rapidly the best in life, if they know how to use, as they can, the clear assistance of French protection. Where would this magnificent country be if it was left to itself? A little nearer where it was 50 years ago. Those who knew it then know well how it has advanced through our efforts. And if we were no longer here to assure its defense and to aid it to administer itself, in whose hands would it fall, to what lust and to what disorders would it be exposed?

This profound sentiment for the French security one finds, no matter how little one looks for it, in the bottom of the hearts of all those who work under the protection of our colors. If this is true, where, then, is the uneasiness and unrest that so many persons point out and denounce, and from what can it come? In our opinion, if there is such unrest, it is in a strongly restrained category of the population.

The young, at first, during the course of instruction in our schools, sometimes complain of the cheapness of the places they are intended to occupy in the administration of the country, and have a tendency to think that too many French are holding the better positions which to them would be a marvel. Is not that it? But our halt last February and the subsequent reforms apportioned this year in the native administration have modified the situation remarkably. Hereafter, and ever increasingly, the young men born in Indo-China will see opened before them some careers hitherto reserved solely for Europeans.

It is said that the reform in question was more theoretical. Yes, perhaps, at the beginning. But in ten years the effects will appear in full value.

One sees still in other circles a certain reserve with respect to the French policy in Indo-China. The former groups of irreconcilables have left a few adept followers who, however, are isolated and powerless before the almost unanimous consent of the population to French rule.

But it is not rare to observe in the homes of some belonging to the leisure and educated classes a certain coldness. Why are these people, above all interested in the maintenance of established order, complaining? Solely from a certain wounding of their *amour-propre*, for which they blame certain Frenchmen who are but little kindly disposed toward the population in the midst of which they have come to live. But the French have, in this country, the duty of never failing to respect those who are deserving and thus between the two races the relations should and can be only courteous and amicable.

Is it otherwise than thus in the great majority of cases? Do not we ourselves on innumerable occasions see the native population affirm their sentiments of appreciation by many

probatory acts? Must one remember their attitude when the World War was in progress? They did not ignore it but marched with France, with the fate of France, their proper destiny. Is it necessary to underline the high significance of their voluntary contribution to the save-the-franc fund, although the appeal was made to French alone?

There can be found, among our compatriots, some individuals who are little interested, who understand badly and who do not observe at all towards the natives the elementary duties of civility, of which the practice should be easy, above all, to a people such as we. But, aside from these sad exceptions, if they exist, why not extol the virtues of so many good French who have made of this country what it is today, and who have known what to do to make loved and respected the name of France?

In my travels across the five countries of Indo-China, how many of these brave men have I encountered, come here during an epoch when life was yet difficult, who have known the inaccessible brush, the trackless forest, the comfortless lodging, the stifling atmosphere that no ventilator can freshen; who have drunk, not the champagne of France, but the fetid water of the marshes; only survivors of a phalanx of whom so many valiant members have found, under a murderous climate, an obscure death?

These are, nevertheless, those who have on this land developed the national effort, who have designed and fashioned French Indo-China. Almost all of them have lived the modest life of the natives. and most of them have become and have remained their friends, their advisers and their teachers. In no country have the colonial enterprises been carried on by idlers. But by what sorcery could the French who, representing only a millionth part of the population, live in profound peace with the natives if we were what is alleged by our critics and detractors. To reveal this miracle is without doubt to pay eulogy to the hospitable virtues of the peoples we have encountered here; it is also to render justice to those alleged "conquerors" who, with such little effort, have known how to merit and retain the confidence of the inhabitants.

The conditions of a just and fruitful collaboration are to employ in its pursuit not only reason but also our hearts. For us French it suffices that we have the conscience to perform here a great national obligation and a high humane mission. France in modern times has borne high the sacred flame recovered four centuries ago from the ashes of the ancient Cite.

It is not at the hour when, in the world, the principles of justice and humanity for which she has struggled and suffered are beginning to triumph that she would wish to incur here the dishonor of having for a moment disowned them. Speaking in the name of the great country which so many thinkers have recognized and saluted as the second *patrie* of all men, I attest our firm intention to show ourselves, here as everywhere, tomorrow as today, good workers for human progress.

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U. S. and British Colonial Contrasts

BY RALSTON HAYDEN

(Reprinted from Foreign Affairs)

THE NETHERLANDS, the United States, and Great Britain are today the rulers of that widespread section of the human race known as the Malays. The Dutch exercise sovereignty over the great and sparsely settled island of Sumatra, crowded Java and Madura, and most of the myriad isles which dot the Pacific west to New Guinea and north and west to the Philippines. They share with Britain the possession of Borneo, which is fifteen times as large as Holland itself. The 48,000,000 inhabitants of their island empire, Insulinde they call it, are subjects of Queen Whilhelmina. The Philippine Archipelago, stretching a thousand miles northward from Borneo and embracing a land area as great as that of England, is a dependency of the United States. Its 11,500,000 inhabitants are "nationals", although not citizens, of this country. Great Britain directly rules the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula, now generally denominated British Malaya. Most of the 3,350,000 people there under her sway own allegiance not to George V but to Malay sultans whose thrones and lineage are, in some instances, more ancient than those of any reigning sovereign in Europe.

Not all the inhabitants of the Malay peninsula and of the islands which fringe southeast Asia are Malays. They are predominantly so, however, and this tropical sea-encompassed world of pepper, pearls, spices, coffee, copra, sugar, and now of rubber, is characteristically the Malay world. The story of its government by three Occidental nations offers many parallels and contrasts of significance to all countries which possess colonial dependencies or which are affected by the increasing contact of the East and the West. British rule in Malaya is of especial interest to Americans, whose attention has recently been directed thither rather sharply by Britain's dominance over the world's supply of crude rubber through her control of the Malay Peninsula, and by the investigation of conditions in the Philippines made by Col. Carmi Thompson as the personal representative of President Coolidge.

That part of the Malay peninsula which is under British rule or influence has an area of 52,500 square miles. It is thus about equal in size to peninsular Florida, which it somewhat resembles in configuration. A through railway from Singapore to Bangkok connects it with Siam, to the north, while most of the great ocean highways of the Orient focus at Singapore, its southern tip.

The traveler who is familiar with the Philippines is sharply impressed by two features of British rule in the Malay peninsula. He realizes at once that the manual labor behind the marvelous development which is going on there is not furnished by native Malaya. Everywhere he sees the strange, tall, ebony-black, narrow faced Tamil, or Kling, as he is locally called. Clad only in dirty loin cloth and billowy turban, this Dravidian from southeast India is cleaning the streets, clearing the jungle, building the roads and railways, driving the creaking bullock carts, planting and caring for the rubber estates. An outcaste in his native India, the Tamil is not an attractive person to Europeans, or even to Malays. Yet on the whole he is considered a good worker, as coolie labor goes; and between 1911 and 1921, the great period of rubber development, his numbers in British Malaya increased from 267,000 to 472,000.

Even more numerous and important than the picturesque Tamils are the Chinese. For more than five hundred years they have been coming to the peninsula, and from the middle of the nineteenth century they have been pouring in, drawn first by tin and more recently by rubber. Most of them come from the southern maritime provinces of Canton and Fukien and the island of Hainan. Until recently practically all of them returned to China as soon as they had acquired a competence. Within the past twenty years, however, famine and disturbed conditions in South China have greatly increased the number of female immigrants, and in 1921 there were enumerated 258,523 locally born Chinese as against 916,254 born in China or elsewhere.

Dr. R. O. Winstedt, of the Malayan Civil Service, one of the foremost authorities on the affairs of the Malay States, makes the following estimate of the Chinese elements in their population: "The Chinese are pre-eminently the business people of the peninsula. The coolie is cheerful, industrious, frugal and law-abiding; the shopkeeper honest and enterprising; the miner and planter shrewd, loath to let money rust, hospitable, generous, public-spirited. Chinese own most of the tin mines, many rubber estates both large

and small, coastal steamers, and house property in every town and village. Without the energy and brains of the Chinese population British Malaya would not have become what it is today." Between 1911 and 1921 the Chinese population of the peninsula increased from 916,000 to 1,173,000.

The indispensable part that the Chinese and the Tamils, together with the British, have played in the development of British Malaya should furnish food for thought to the people of the Philippines and to Americans who are interested in the future of the Philippine Archipelago. The transformation of the peninsula from one of the most backward to one of the most advanced portions of the Orient has proceeded along economic as well as political and social lines, and today it rests on a solid economic foundation. This foundation, however, has been laid for the most part by British enterprise and capital, Chinese enterprise and labor, and Tamil labor. Of enterprise, capital, or labor the native Malays have furnished relatively a very small proportion. No one acquainted with the facts for a moment supposes that the Malay alone, or even the British and the Malay together, could have turned the trick. Immigrant laborers almost equal in number to the native population were necessary.

With reference to the development of natural resources the situation in the Philippines is in many respects similar to that in the Malay peninsula. In proportion to the undeveloped natural resources of the archipelago native labor is scarcely more abundant than in the former country; Filipino capital is entirely inadequate to the development of the Islands; and the Filipinos have never played a dominant, or even the leading part in directing the economic life of their country. For the past quarter-century, chiefly out of deference to the wishes of the Filipinos themselves, Asiatic labor has been excluded from the Islands, while the land laws and the uncertain political future have prevented American or other foreign capital from entering. Many Filipino leaders, however, are now beginning to realize that the present policy will never provide a national purse long enough to pay for the civilization and to support the independence which they covet. They are beginning to face the facts that the most pressing problems of their country are economic, not political, and that while they have escaped certain dangers by the exclusion of foreign capital and labor, they have missed certain benefits well illustrated in British Malaya.

A question which at once arises in connection with the presence of the Chinese and the Tamils in Malaya is how it has affected the lot of the native himself. The broadest general answer may be given by stating that between 1911 and 1921 the Malay population increased by 15 percent, in which growth immigration played small part. Materially and socially there can be no doubt that the condition of the Malay has been immeasurably improved during the past generation, and that to a large extent this improvement has been due to the general increase in the prosperity of his country. The typical Malay agriculturist is a rice planter or the owner of a small holding upon which he grows fruit, cocoanuts, and rubber. He may also be an artisan or a fisherman. In any event his market is more extended, more certain, more advantageous in every way than it was twenty years ago. But it cannot be said that the Malays relish the influx of other Asiatics, especially of the Chinese. The Chinese can, and do, out-smart, out-work, and underlive every other Oriental people from Siberia to India, not excepting the Japanese. These may be admirable qualities, but they do not make for popularity in Malaya any more than they do in California. In point of fact, the Chinese are not popular with the natives of any Malay country, and in certain parts of British Malaya, as in the Philippines, native feeling against them is not infrequently expressed by looting, the burning of goods and houses, and other manifestations of dislike.

The second striking impression which an American from the Philippines receives in British Malaya is that, so far as the apparatus of modern life is concerned, the British are building more elaborately and more permanently than are the Americans, especially in those parts of the country which are distant from the metropolis. As the seventh port in the world, one expects Singapore to be a modern city. But when the visitor travels some twelve hours over an excellently equipped railroad to Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Selangor and of the Federated States, he is somewhat surprised to find a municipality just as clean, modern, and well equipped. Beautiful parks and boulevards, sixty miles of perfect city streets, handsome stone buildings, a first class hotel, important banks, well stocked shops, a truly wonderful museum, three large hospitals, several churches, and a gem of a mosque, golf courses, grounds for various sports, clubs, and many schools make this inland town one of the most attractive capitals in the Orient. It is hard to believe that fifty years ago it was a Chinese mining town, with two streets and houses built of adobe and thatched with palm leaves.

Other provincial towns exhibit the same characteristics. In sharp contrast with American practice in the Philippines, the British civil experts who administer the technical and some of the political services of the government are provided with permanently constructed, well placed and perfectly maintained residences which are allotted in accordance with rank just as are the quarters of an army post. The same conditions obtain in the Dutch Indies. These contrasting practices reflect the differing policies of the ruling powers in the Philippines, and in the Malay peninsula and Insulinde. Britain and Holland are in their colonies to stay, and plan accordingly. America has promised to leave, if the Filipinos wish her to, as soon as the natives can maintain an independent republican government; and she plans accordingly.

British rule in Malaya goes back to 1786 when Francis Light obtained a grant of the island of Penang from a native sultan in return for a promise of protection from his rapacious neighbors. In 1800 a small coastal cession on the adjoining mainland, now Province Wellesley, was purchased for $4,000. After a generation of military, commercial, and diplomatic rivalry with the Dutch, Great Britain secured permanent title to Malacca in 1824. Meanwhile, however, in 1819 an adventurous and far-sighted young Englishman, Stamford Raffles, had hoisted the Union Jack over the Island of Singapore and founded there a trading settlement which soon surpassed in importance the ancient Dutch factory on the Straits. These colonies, together with certain islands and a small coastal strip connected with them administratively, comprise the Straits Settlements.

For almost a century after the founding of Georgetown the British limited their relations with their Malay neighbors to occasional treaties entered into primarily in order to advance their commercial interests and to guarantee the peace and security of the Straits Settlements. With the influx of Chinese tin miners after the middle of the 19th Century, however, the native chiefs became less and less able to maintain order. Finally, in 1874, to save the native states from chaos and ruin and their own commerce from serious injury, the British inaugurated a policy which eventually made them the masters of the entire peninsula. They compelled the Perak chiefs to sign a treaty accepting a British Resident whose advice should be, "asked and acted upon on all questions other than those touching Malay religion and custom." The treaty provided that the collection and control of revenues and the general administration should be regulated on the advice of the Resident and the Assistant-Resident.

Between the acceptance of Residents by Perak and Selangor and the year 1895, the nine petty sultanates which now comprise Negri Sembilan were first confederated and then united under a Malay rule with a British Resident at his elbow. Sir Hugh Clifford induced Pahang to enter into a similar status in 1887. In each case the relations between Great Britain and the native state were fixed by treaty, the agreement being secured and enforced by a combination of diplomacy and force.

The four states which have been mentioned were organized as a federation in 1895 and are known as the Federated Malay States. The government now consists of the High Commissioner (who is also the Governor of the Straits Settlements); the Chief Secretary to Government, who is the head of the administration at Kuala Lumpur; and a Federal Council consisting of these two officials, the rulers of the four states, the four British Residents, the Legal Adviser, the Financial Adviser, and six unofficial members nominated by the High Commissioner with the approval of the King. In 1909 Siam relinquished her last claim to sovereignty over any part of the peninsula which had come under British control, and all of the States passed under British protection.

Upon the legal foundations which have been described the British have built up a wonderfully efficient and smooth-running administrative machine. The Chief Secretary at Kuala Lumpur is assisted by the heads of the federal departments, each staffed in its upper ranges by British civil servants. They are adequately paid, enjoy a permanent status and good living conditions, and upon retirement receive fairly generous pensions. The executive authority in each state is vested in a Resident, who is assisted by a secretariat somewhat like that of the central government, and by district officers and magistrates. Many Malays have become assistant district officers and a few have risen higher.

The East and the West have come into contact with less of conflict and more of mutual satisfaction in British Malaya than in any other area east of Constantinople. In justification of having added 15,000 square miles of Malayan territory to the British Empire, "at a preposterously early age," Sir Hugh Clifford, one of the men who laid the foundations of the present system, wrote: "I have watched at close quarters, and in intolerable impotency to aid or save, the lives which

(*Continued on page 262*)

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France and the Problem Of the Pacific

BY SENATOR ANATOLE DE MONZIE

(Reprinted from the Paris Edition, Chicago Tribune)

WE must devote the best of our attention and thoughts to the surprises which the Pacific may hold in reserve. But it would not be sufficient for France to create a commissary for the Pacific or a ministry for the Far East as was suggested, those measures constituting a dismemberment of the French colonial office. We have already decided not to create a ministry for northern Africa, and I think we shall equally renounce solving the problem of the Pacific by appointing a functionary in the councils of the government. As regards a high commissary of the French Republic specially entrusted with the study of the Pacific problem, this measure would have the double advantage of giving the general governor of Indo-China the necessary power to assure in the name of the French republic the establishment and continuity of a French policy in the Pacific for the safeguarding of our interests and rights. It would also give to Indo-China moral and, at times, material power over our possessions in the Pacific, which have, up till now, been completely abandoned owing to their remoteness from the metropolis. The whole French policy must be coherent and continuous, and loyally supported by diplomatists, administrators and generals. A functionary, influential though he be, must not be allowed to fix and define our policy, and it would be imprudent and ever dangerous to confer such a power on account of our relations with England, America and Russia, and indeed the whole world. The general governor of Indo-China is, in fact, subordinate to the minister of the colonies. Thus, how could he, without creating dissatisfaction, impose his opinions on diplomatic agents depending on the minister for foreign affairs? This would suggest that the high commissioner would have to submit not to a minister but to the whole cabinet. Such a suggestion could, however, scarcely be carried out, as a functionary who has served several ministers, is, in fact, independent of all, and must act accordingly. How could a functionary establish, i. e. decide on, a personal policy, grounded on considerations which, although applied to a part of the world as vast as the Pacific is yet only one of

(Continued on page 264)

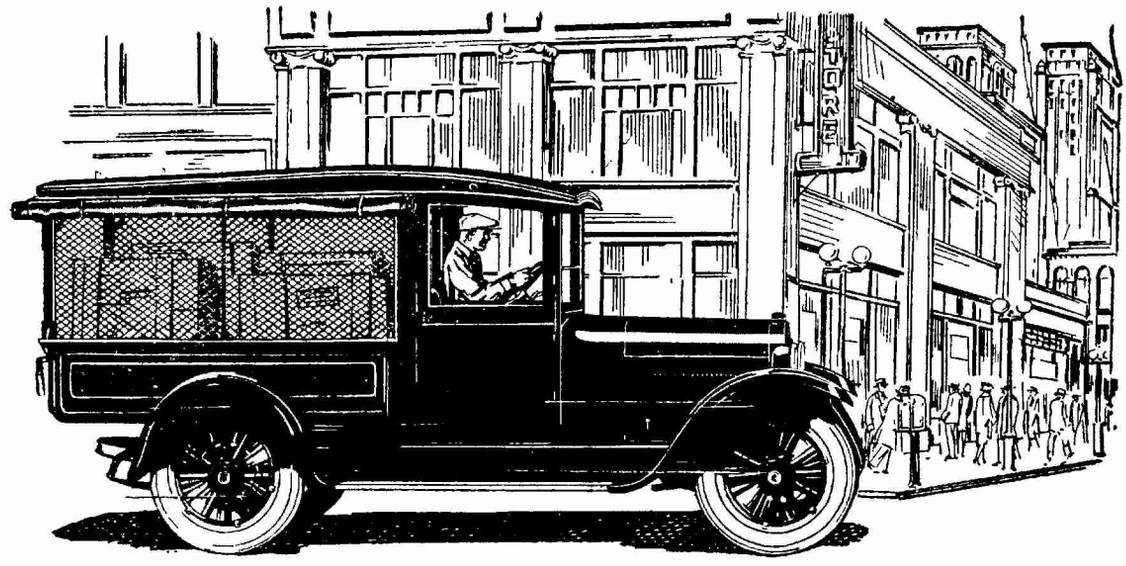
(Continued from page 260)

all these people lived before the white man came to defend their weakness against the oppression and the wrong wrought to them by tyrants of their own race; and I have seen them gradually emerge from the dark shadow in which their days were passed, into the daylight of a personal freedom such as white men prize above most mundane things."

As to self-government, this veteran administrator who was "passionately determined" to end the oppression under which these people lived, declared: "The Malays, be it remembered, never possessed 'self-government.' The rule of their rajas and chiefs was one of the most absolute and cynical autocracies that the mind of man has conceived; and the people living under it were mercilessly exploited, and possessed no rights, either of person or property."

No better justification has ever been offered for "imperialism", in the best sense of that word of many meanings. Today in British Malaya "Democracy" means nothing to the masses because it is not indigenous and has never been introduced by foreigners. Popular sovereignty, universal suffrage, representative government, independence, —these conceptions have not even appeared above the political horizon of this land. Instead of having to deal with anything so complex the British have been able to utilize the ancient institutions of the native people, which have always rested on the simple principle of autocratic authority.

That such a system probably could not be reproduced in any other country in the Orient is but another illustration of a fact of which many Westerners seem unaware: that instead of the "problem of the East" there are as many problems as there are peoples in that no longer distant world. In 1899 most of the Malays in the Philippines had been Christians for three centuries, had lost whatever memory of native rulers or native political institutions they may have ever had, and were accustomed to a centralized government of the Occidental type and to the ways of Western civilization. Also they had fought a desperate rebellion against Spanish tyranny, had laid the foundations of a national spirit, and had produced national leaders. Thus, though many common factors remain, the problems of British and American Malaya are essentially different today. But although each nation is perforce steering its own course, a study of the two colonies convinces the observer of nothing more fully than that each may learn much from the other.



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(*Continued from page 262*)

the details of our general policy, the value of which must be modified by the whole. If unity of direction is necessary, no one will contest that such a unity should be realised by the government to adopt a policy and maintain its responsibility before the chambers. Any other conception would only lead to confusion and disorders. It is necessary to further point out that whatever solution were adopted it would only be logical to extend same to other measures. Why then should we not create a huge commissary of Moslem affairs? A start in this direction would mean a scattering and weakening of authority and responsibility a result directly opposed to the aim in view. The policy of France in the Pacific, Mediterranean or Atlantic must be decided in Paris by the government in power and controlled by the Parliament. It is undoubtedly preferable that only the government, through the medium of its qualified representatives should give the necessary direction and commands to its agents so that the latter carry out, instead of establishing, France's policy, each one within the scope of his action and territory. There is no need of a new method, of which the least that can be said is that it is superfluous. Of course, as regards negotiations in the Pacific, instructions from Paris may be too general, ignoring the immediate solution of details caused by peculiar and unlooked for circumstances. Decisions will probably be taken on the spot; and by concerted action among our representatives in the Pacific, so that their attitude and policy may have a similar aim. But there is no need for a special commissary to foster our efforts and decisions. It would be desirable that the ministry of colonies after deciding to admit the general governor of French western Africa to the annual meeting of North Africa, should take analogous action in the Far East, and meet each year with the general governor of Indo-China, French ambassador to Japan, minister to Pekin and resident at Tonkin, to settle any questions which may arise. It would undoubtedly be preferable that this conference should also include a *"missus dominicus"* delegated by the central power to assume among the different delegates the role of arbiter, remind them of Paris instructions and bring back to the metropolis a synopsis of the conference. Although the high commissary may appear useless and difficult to establish, yet if such a system were adopted a high commissary could be delegated to take part in the work, such as the liaison officer of the government, in those regions where events are gradually evolving. M. Hovelaque was the first to give the alarm in his interesting study on Japan, but no one has the right to remain unconcerned since M. Albert Sarraut had the courage to denounce the terrible peril which has developed in the Far East—a peril mostly due to the war menace. Our attention was called to those facts at the time of the signature of the Russo-Japanese agreements uniting hitherto independent forces in the Pacific, following England's decision to reinforce the naval basis at Singapore, at whatever cost. M. Sarraut is wise in considering that the problem of the Pacific is neither local (that is Californian or Australian) or national (that is American or Japanese) but a universal problem. It is the most formidable powder-magazine of the world, and a conflict in the Pacific would constitute the fuse. Whatever may have been the consequences of the great war, a conflict in the Pacific would prove a still greater catastrophe numbering perhaps ten million victims. The Washington conference in November 1921 did not reduce the risk of this conflict the destiny of Japan demanding developments in the Far East, where they will some day oppose American expansion. Edison once exclaimed "Japan needs elbow room; let her buy Siberia". Such a scheme is now abandoned, and we must bethink ourselves of other means to settle these difficulties before they result in war. We must show due attention to the drafting of the Franco-Japanese commercial agreements, not only as a means of protection against trade competition in Indo-China, in our Asiatic possessions, and in the metropolis but as a means to decide our future relations with Japan. "Asia to Asiatics" is a formula which must not be endorsed by Japan. Our anxiety, one may add, may have no immediate object. Japan is still loyal and friendly to her former allies, and if France did not cooperate more effectively for the rebuilding of Nippon towns, destroyed by the earthquake, it was because we had no desire to do so. Yet, we must watch closely the situation in the Pacific.

The Nation's Roll of Honor for 1926

The New York *Nation's* roll of honor for 1926, which has just been published contains the following:

"Thomas F. Millard for telling the truth about China in the *New York Times*.

"Grover Clark for editing an American newspaper in Peking and keeping it true to the best American traditions.

"Senator Wm. E. Borah for his old-fashioned honesty in denouncing the policy of force by all the Powers in China and by the United States in Mexico and Nicaragua."

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The Machinery Trade of China During 1926

BY W. H. RASTALL

(*Reprinted from Commerce Reports*)

THE machinery import trade of China during the first six months of 1926 changed but little in total value from that of the corresponding period of 1925, despite labor troubles, political complications, and civil warfare, according to preliminary unofficial returns of the 45 entry ports under the Chinese Maritime Customs. Indications are also that the United States secured a satisfactory share of this business. Machinery imports amounted to 8,514,284 Haikwan taels,[1] as compared with 8,584,702 taels for the half year of 1925. As usual, most of this trade passed through seven ports, as follows: Shanghai, 4,105,169 Haikwan taels; Dairen, 2,887,283 taels; Tientsin, 657,651 taels; Hankow, 281,037 taels; Kiachow, 229,519 taels; Harbin, 85,316 taels; and Canton, 62,443 taels. These figures are gross and include machinery entering into the interprovincial trade as well as net imports.

United States Shares Well in Import Trade

Other preliminary and unofficial figures, which appear to be net, show that the United States secured the largest share of the machinery imports of Shanghai during the 1926 period, followed by Great Britain, Germany, Japan, and Sweden, as follows: United States, 1,070,513 Haikwan taels; Great Britain, 817,419 taels; Germany, 297,676 taels; Japan, 294,481 taels; Sweden, 58,626 taels. A noteworthy feature of the machinery import trade of Tientsin was the increase in imports from the United States along with those from Germany and Japan, while imports from Great Britain decreased by more than 65 per cent. Imports from other countries into Tientsin were in small amounts and showed negligible changes.

Slight Stabilization Seen in General Business

General business during the first half of 1926 showed a slight stabilization, compared with the corresponding period of 1925, while traffic improved somewhat, opening up some of the stagnant markets of the interior. The continued imposition of burdensome military taxes, however, as well as civil disturbances, restricted trade, and merchants moved cautiously, uncertain of future developments. Notwithstanding these difficulties, customs authorities report larger receipts from both imports and exports for the first six months of 1926 than for the corresponding period of 1925, indicating that China has again upheld its reputation for carrying on trade under most trying conditions.

Shanghai Imports of Machinery Increased Almost Half

The machinery imports of Shanghai for the six months of 1926 registered an increase of 47 per cent over the corresponding period of 1925. This gain was largely attained through greater imports of textile and miscellaneous machinery. The former, which as usual constituted the largest single machinery item, nearly doubled as compared with the first six months of 1925, and also represented a substantial increase over the 1924 period.

A striking feature of these preliminary returns for Shanghai is the virtual disappearance of brewing, distilling, and sugar-refining machinery from the list of imports. This item alone accounted for a value of 1,043,565 Haikwan taels during the first six months of 1924 but totaled only 3,282 taels in the 1925 half-year period, and in 1926 amounted to practically nothing.

The following table of machinery imports into Shanghai is given for purposes of a more detailed comparison of these periods:

Imports of machinery into Shanghai, China

(In haikwan taels)

Class of machinery	January to June, inclusive		
	1924	1925	1926
Agricuultural	16,549	16,543	48,182
For electric-power stations	192,138	178,220	97,501
Printing, bookbinding, and paper cutting	436,552	242,013	212,641
Propelling (boilers, turbines, etc.)	217,636	455,793	470,074
Pumps and pumping....	71,965	96,707	103,026
For textile industries (carding, color printing, weaving, spinning, etc.)	1,445,650	894,542	1,755,254

Brewing, distilling, sugar refining, etc	1,043,565	3,282	97
Other kinds, and parts of machinery (including cotton gins and parts of).....	1,652,109	906,377	1,418,394
Total.....	5,076,164	2,793,477	4,105,199

Imports Through Dairen Decrease

The machinery imports of Dairen, valued at 2,678,978 Haikwan taels in 1926 fell considerably below the corresponding six months' periods of 1925 and 1924. The decline in trade as compared with 1925 was mainly through a decrease in imports of miscellaneous machinery and parts which more than offset gains in certain items such as propelling, textile, and agricultural machinery. A noteworthy feature of the Dairen trade during the past three years is the radical falling off in imports of machinery for the textile industries, from 1,442,401 Haikwan taels for the first of 1924 to 124,892 taels and 228,729 taels for the corresponding periods of 1925 and 1926, respectively.

A table showing imports of machinery into Dairen, by classes, follows:

Imports of machinery into Dairen, China
(In haikwan taels)

Class of machinery	January to June, inclusive 1924	1925	1926
Agricultural	172,530	86,005	124,280
For electric-power stations	.....	179,472	176,032
Printing, bookbinding, and paper cutting	20,792	69,497	56,811
Propelling (boilers, turbines, etc.).....	350,739	359,240	499,591
Pumps and pumping....	83,390	109,560	78,053
For textile industries (carding, color printing, weaving, spinning, etc.).....	1,442,401	124,892	228,729
Brewing, distilling, sugar refining, etc....	4,471	.....	2,795
Other kinds, and parts of machinery (including cotton gins and parts of)	1,919,266	2,169,982	1,512,687
Total.....	3,993,589	3,098,648	2,678,878

Engineering Exhibit Held by Nanyang University

Originally intended as a celebration of the university's thirtieth anniversary, the Nanyang University's engineering exhibition which was held at Shanghai, China, from October 8 to 12 developed on a larger scale than was at first anticipated. Probably as many as 50 different firms had exhibits, including 8 American concerns. The German firm Siemens China Co. had the largest display and furnished also the lighting decorations and power for the entire exhibition free of charge. The exhibition has been considered sufficiently successful to warrant a repetition next year.

[1] The value of the Haikwan tael was probably less in 1926 than during 1925, owing to the lower price of silver. No official compilation has yet been made for the current year, however. The quotations for the calendar years 1924 and 1925 were $0.81 and $0.84, respectively.

Men and Events

The Rev. Fr. Witner, Apolistolic vicar of Chefoo, China, was granted an audience by the Pope on Jan. 26.

C. W. Atkinson, general manager of the Standard Oil Company in China is departing shortly for his home in America on account of illness.

The American Players are now rehearsing the play "Lightnin" which will be presented at the Carlton Theater, Shanghai, on February 10, 11 and 12.

The Chinese Social and Political Science *Review* for January contains the complete text of the exchange of Notes between China and Belgium respecting the abrogation of the Sino-Belgian Treaty, the exchange of Notes respecting the revision of the Sino-Japanese Treaty, the recommendations of the Extraterritorial Commission, the regulations for the liquidation of the Russo-Asiatic Bank and the Chinese Notes respecting the Wanhsien incident.

Mrs. Clara Henrich of Newport, Kentucky, head of the order of Eastern Star, a women's organization affiliated with ths Masons, died in the Shanghai Isolation Hospital on Wednesday, Jan. 26 of smallpox. Mrs. Henrich was traveling in the Far East for the purpose of establishing branches of the Eastern Star in Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai. She became ill while traveling on a ship from Tientsin to Shanghai. Mrs. Henrich was accompanied by Mrs. Cora Cohen of Houston, Texas, who is also an officer in the Eastern Star.

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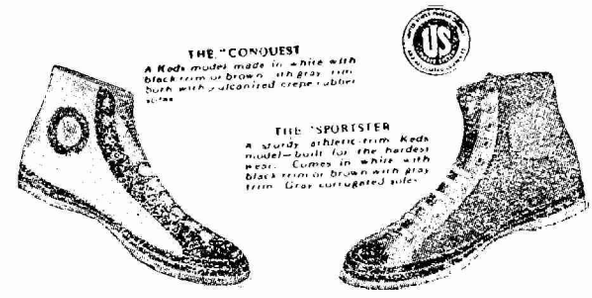

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"My Friends, the Cantonese"

BY C. A. NELSON

AS I have made my home with this interesting and progressive people for 35 years, I can speak with at least some authority about them. During these fleeting years, I have met with uniform kindness at their hands. Only once have I been held up by bandits and then I only lost $20. This might have happened in any land. 'Some writers include, in their articles the characteristics of all the people, as they think, but this is a bold undertaking, as no one man knows all China. After all, the best judges and interpreters of the Chinese mind, are not the occasional visitors, but the missionaries who live among the people, who, as it were, have gotten their second sight, but even they have much to learn. Dr. Arthur H. Smith's books, "Village Life in China," and "Chinese Characteristics," are purely local, and by no means portray the life and characteristics of the people of *all* China. I have met with English speaking Chinese who have read these books with no liking for the author, because they say: "Dr. Smith is making fun of us Chinese."

Although I have visited a few cities in other provinces, yet I am not able to form a correct diagnosis of the character and temperament of the people of those provinces. My remarks, therefore, shall be limited to my own observations among the so-called Cantonese, the people who dwell in the Kwong Tung province. The word, Canton, is a corruption of the word Kwong Tung, hence the term Cantonese. In the province, they number about 27,000,000. To this number must be added over two million more who are of the "Oriental Dispersion," i.e. the Over-seas Chinese. Not only have I had the privilege of associating with the Cantonese in their home province, I have also visited thousands of them in other lands, in U. S. A., the Hawaii an Islands, Philipine Islands, Java, Singapore, Saigon and Bangkok, and I might add Shanghai, as there are at least 60,000 Cantonese in this International city. In all these places, and coming often a stranger, I have, nevertheless been welcomed and entertained, and have received large contributions from them for educational work in their own province. Granted that the Cantonese are more revolutionary than the Chinese in other provinces, they are, nevertheless, more progressive, as they have the pioneering spirit.

Among them For 30 Years

In my work among them as a missionary of the American Board for about 30 years, my experience in dealing with them has not differed greatly from that of my fellow missionaries. I have, perhaps, more than some, advocated that we are here to help the Chinese to help themselves. Very early in my ministry, I adopted for my motto the words of John the Baptist, and told my Chinese associates, the preachers and teachers—You must increase, but we must decrease. I remember when the corner stone of the Kwong Hau Street, Congregational church was laid, the speaker, Rev. Young T. Park of the independent Church of Christ in China, located in Hong Kong, said: "I remember very well that Pastor Nelson, on several occasions, said to us, "You must increase, but we must decrease." Our relation with the pastors and teachers and constituency has always been agreeable and pleasant, and there has been no occasion for a rupture of any kind. The result has been that there has been a healthy hiving off from the missionary church which we have encouraged, so there are now a dozen self-supporting, self-governing churches, and the work is largely self-propagating.

The characteristics of our Cantonese people have made it possible for us to cause the work to become thus independent. Many have gone abroad and have seen the benefits of the Gospel and of public and private education in other lands. Some have been converted, and have returned to help us as preachers, teachers and as business men. Some, of whom we expected much, have disappointed us, but, on the whole our constituency have stood by us, and now they have no desire to see us withdraw.

For 15 years I toured parts of the Kwong Tung province. Sometimes I would be away from home for a long period of time. My wife always expected me to return at some time, as she too had confidence in the people and felt that I would be safe. I have passed nights in boats, in homes, in Ancestral Halls, in Temples, in Churches and chapels, in Inns foul with opium and tobacco smells, and have felt at ease in these places because I believed in the people. As a rule, I travelled with but one Chinese companion, and on our journeys we shared and shared alike. My companion could be relied upon absoluetly. Two of these are now preachers of the Gospel.

The Peasant Class

Permit me to say a few words about the peasant class. Most of them, to be sure, are illiterate, but they are by no means ignorant. Many good Proverbs are known to them, and much of the teachings of Confucius they know and understand. The older people are courteous to strangers from another land. They rather expect us to be somewhat different from themselves, in custom and dress as well as in speech. The boys, in some places and even young men, are sometimes abusive and call us "Foreign devils," but they often speak thoughtlessly, or because they do not know what to call us. Sometimes I have suffered in silence, again, I would single out one and ask: If I should cail you a Chinese devil, would you like it? "No, No!" would be the quick reply. Well, said I, that is the way I feel about it when you call me a foreign devil. The elders would often offer me a pipe of tobacco, but when I politely refused, no offense was given. I have had opium offered me but have abstained. At feasts I have been offered Chinese wine, made from rice, and no cne felt hurt because I refused to drink it, and no one abstained because I did. I was accepted as a guest a foreigner with some peculiarities, but a man with like passions as themselves, and one who could handle chop sticks.

Let me here give my testimony regarding the women of the peasant class, the common people. Not one in a thousand perhaps, can read or write, but for all that no more chaste or well behaved women ever lived, or are to be found elsewhere, I believe, with the exception of the face, hands and feet, their garments cover the entire body. They would indeed be amazed should they see some of our American women in their all too scanty attire. As for the men who labor in the fields or factories, or in shops, or who carry produce to the markets, or the chair bearers, it is not unusual to see them without coats, and often without shirts to their backs, but this caused no comment, and leads to no vulgar conversation.

Our work at first was largely among the peasents who live in villages and towns; with shop keepers and employees. I class them all as belonging to the common people, and this class is, or can be made to be, the back bone of the nation, by giving them a chance to get a moderate education. We could ask for no better people to work among; and as for the Government, it placed no restrictions upon us. A missionary would be trusted without the shadow of a doubt. Surely, we missionaries could say: "The lines have fallen unto us in pleasant places."

Our Chinese constituency felt the need of schools, not only for their own children but also for their neighbors children, and, in time, they had them without any help from the Mission or the Board. We missionaries felt that we needed the schools for evangelistic purposes, and believed that through them we could reach the educated *classes, and even the* officials, and so it has proved.

An Illustrious List

If you should look at the names of the men who are patrons of our Mei Wa School, which is, being interpreted, the American Chinese School, you would find the names of Governors, Commissioners, Secretaries and business men not a few. We had a plan to present to them which appealed to them as being sound,

It was a co-operatsve scheme in which the Chinese provide land, buildings and equipment, and a foreign Commission provide American teachers and their salaries. It was sharing with them. The fact that the school was to be distinctively Christian, made no difference to the patrons or to the contributors, I remember that I called on Dr. Wu Ting Fang and asked him to become a patron. He was willing, for said he: "Mr. Nelson, I am ashamed to say it, but it is nevertheless true, We Chinese have not learned yet to superintend. Go and see the Commissioner of Education, and if he approves, you may use my name, and I promise you a little financial help." I saw the Commissioner and he too became a patron.

Before we entered upon this plan of co-operation we consulted with our constituency as to ways and means of raising money and of securing a favorable site. Without much delay we secured enough money for 15 (English) acres of land. Plans were drawn for a $50,000. (local) building when we only had $1000. in hand. One of our Trustees, a prominent merchant in Hong Kong, secured considerable money from his fellow merchants and friends. I spent my summers in soliciting money from the Chinese abroad.. One summer found me on the Pacific coast, in Washington, Oregon and California, also in Hawaii, in these places I appealed only to the Chinese. The next summer found me in Java where I secured several thousand Gilders. I visited Singapore and did not return empty handed. The main building was finished in February of 1923, and school was opened. But a debt on this first building and upon another just started, sent me the next summer to Saigon in Annam, and to Bangkok in Siam. In these several places I again only appealed to the Chinese. By the end of 1923,

(*Continued on page 271*)

From the Chinese Press

January 26—Gen. Chang Hsueh-liang inspects situation in Honan for purpose bringing about cooperation betweeu Wu Pei-fu and Fengtien—Nationalist Government dispatches Tai Tien-chieu to Japan as unofficial representative to bring about closer relations between Cantonese and Japan—Baron Shidehara, Japanese Foreign Minister declares Japan will confine her China policy to protection of Japanese lives and properties and declares that thus far no Japanese lives or properties seriously affected—Gen. Ho Ying-chin, commander of 1st Cantonese army at Foochow orders concentration Southern forces at Chuchow, Chekiang Province—Foochow anti-Christian movement subsides—Kuomintang leaders including Tsai Yunpei and Ma Hsu-lun arrive in Foochow from Ningpo—China and Japan sign agreement for improving and coordinating communications between China and Japan, agreement signed at Dairen—Chinese refuse issuance of re-export certificates in Manchuria—Japanese dispatch gunboats to Shanghai for purpose protecting 20,000 Japanese residents—Gen. Chang Chung-chang sends Gen. Hsu Kun southward from Tsinanfu with armored train for service on Lung-Hai Railway—Serious fight develops between Shantung troops under Gen. Chiang Hung-tah and bandits in vicinity of Tunghsien and Feihsien—Reported that Wu Pei-fu has decided to appoint Gen. Tien Weichin to handle campaign against the Southerners at Hankow—British representative O'Malley and Eugene Chen continue negotiations, but results unknown—Marshal Wu Pei-fu issues statement regarding his policy on reconstruction—Chinese Bankers Association at Shanghai opposes plan for Chinese to appoint three members of Shanghai Municipal Council, preferring to wait and find out just what status the Chinese members may have—Shanghai Nanking Railway officials decide to increase pay of employes to prevent possible strike—Japanese 24th destroyer flotilla arrives in Shanghai—British Government reported to have asked Japan's cooperation in landing forces at Shanghai, but according *Toho* service, Japanese still non-committal—Baron Shidehara states that he does not consider China situation so critical as does Britain, hence does not consider Japanese cooperation essential—Nationalists decide to station 550,000 troops in Chekiang, Anhwei and Hupeh, thus requiring an expenditure of $16,000,000 monthly which is an increase from $6,000,000 expended on the army of 160,000 in the campaign last year? Kuomintang plans to raise these funds by assessing Kwangtung and Kwangsi for $6,000,000; in, Huna $600,000: Hupeh, Fukien and Kiangsi, $2,800,000, making a total of $7,000,000, the raising of the remaining $7,000,000 to be decided by the finance conference to be held in Nanchang on Feb. 11—Owing to disagreement of Powers, Sir Francis Aglen, Inspector General of Customs decides not to have surtaxes collected by Customs Administration—Wellington Koo hands Japanese the Chinese draft of proposed Sino-Japanese Commercial Treaty and negotiations will start Jan. 28—French and Spanish Ministers at Peking send note to Waichiaopu reserving right to demand compensation for losses suffered by Spanish and French catholics at Foochow.

January 27—Fengtien party authorities, according to *Toho* report request Peking Government to issue orders to Inspector General of Customs ordering Customs officials to collect surtaxes and to fire those refusing to perform duties—Ankuochun authorities Peking viewing British action dispatching 16,000 troops to Shanghai calmly

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believing British will not go beyond protection British lives properties—French and Chinese authorities in Peking hold second meeting to discuss new commercial treaty between China and French Indo-China—Chang Tso-ling dispatches Gen: Han Lin-tsung to Honan to handle military affairs against South; Gen. Yu Tsung also departs for Honan—Gen. Chang Chung-chang orders Gen. Tu Feng-chu Commander of 50th Division and Gen, Fang Yun-tsung of 4th Shantung army to move troops toward Honan—Marshal Sun Chuan-fang notifies Peking that he is unable to remit Customs surtaxes to Peking owing to present fighting and that present war is costing him $600,000 a month for the army and $300,000 a month for the Navy—Strike of Chinese Bank employes in Hankow being mediated by Strike Arbitration Committee and settlement expected shortly—American Minister Mac Murray returns to Peking—Japanese *Toho* report states that American unwilling to cooperate with British in defense of Shanghai and that if situation becomes serious Americans will evacuate to Manila; that France likely to cooperate with Britain and that Japan aside from sending 1,000 sailors to Shanghai to protect Japanese citizens that the Japanese will not land forces—Japanese, British, French and Italian Ministers meet in Peking to discuss Shanghai situation—Japanese and Chinese officials Peking decide to consider the question of China's Tariff autonomy immediately in connection with the Sino-Japanese Commercial Treaty negotiations—Kwangtung provincial government decides to levy new tax on entrance and clearance of vessels in order to raise money for military purposes, the tax to amount to $5 on all vessels plying between Canton and Shanghai, Macao and Swatow—Negotiations proceeding between O'Malley and Eugene Chen without incident—Nationalists at Hankow upon learning of British plans to dispatch troops to Shanghai notify leaders in Shanghai to adopt precautions against violence.

January 28.—Owing to the fact that the Shantung Railway has only paid the sum of $800,000 out of their total interest obligation of $2,400,000 annually to the Japanese financiers on the debt of the Railway, the Japanese minister has referred the matter to the Japanese Government in Tokyo—Chen Shien-tang, new civil-governor of Honan appointed by Wu Pei-fu has decided to issue new military notes amounting to $4,000,000 based on provincial taxation—Li Li-san, leading labor leader in Hankow tells *Toho* Agency that the Kuomintang is anxious to make a deal with Japanese cotton mills in Shanghai increasing wages in order to obviate possible trouble—Kwangtung provincial officials issue notification to people not to confuse anti-imperialism with the expulsion of British residents and that all protection should be extended to Britons in Kwangtung province—Japanese press generally expresses doubt about Britain's action in sending troops to Shanghai and stating that Japan should watch her policy carefully—Nationalists at Hankow worried over financial situation at approach of New Year and plan issuance of $25,000,000 loan—Employes of Peking-Hankow Railway threated T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance of Nationalist Government over non-receipt of salaries for three months—Citizens hold mass-meeting in Wuchang expressing indignation over non-publication of negotiations between Eugene Chen and British representative o'Malley—*Toho* report from Tokyo declares Japan willing to negotiate reciprocal Commercial Treaty with China providing for revision on basis equality; to negotiate reciprocal tariff and readjust loans; to take initiative in revision of extraterritoriality; to arrange for joint administration of Concessions—Gen. Yang Yu-ting, Fengtien, chief of staff to proceed to Japan to attend Emperor's funeral—Eugene Chen, according to *Toho* report, states Britain's action in landing troops amount to war declaration on Kuomintang.

January 29.—Gen. Chang Chung-chang, Shantung tupan confers with Generals Chu Yu-puh and Hsu Yuan-chun at Tsinanfu, following which Gen. Chu departs for Hsuchowfu to inspect troops—Eugene Chen sends delegate to report to Hankow public bodies regarding progress negotiations with British Government asking public to be patient—Marshal Tsao Kun and family arrive in Tientsin—Reported that reconciliation effected between Wu Pei-fu and Wei Yi-san—Marshal Sun Chuan-faug notifies Taoyin of Shanghai district that all demands made upon magistrates of the Hu-hai districts by Fengtien forces are to be opposed—Marshal Sun Chuan-fang appoints Gen. Chang She-ming as director of Chekiang Highway Construction Bureau—Japanese *Toho* report states that Peking Government not displeased at Britain's military occupation of Shanghai since same will prevent Nationalists occupation and interference with Customs surtax collection—Labor unions in Kwangtung province now number 455.

(Continued on page V)

New Books of Interest in the Far East

Mr Franck, the Perennial Tramp

East of Siam. By Harry A. Franck. The Century Company; New York. G. 3.50. 350 pages, with 99 illustrations.

Ever since we were boys we have been reading Mr. Franck's books. He is the world's greatest tramp.

Our first reading of him was "A Vagabond Journey Around the World" and "Four Months Afoot in Spain." These were perhaps his most original books, because then he probably really had to tramp, while now he makes his excursions with a luxurious hotel as a base. Since his first book, written after he had started to "beat his way" around the world as a young college graduate, he has written eleven volumnious books which together describe the parts of the world worth visiting. He devoted two years to the Far East, writing one book on Japan and Formosa, two on China and this one on Indo-China.

While in Indo-China Mr Franck made a large part of his way afoot. He ventured to the court of the Emperor of Annam in time to take part in the celebration of the Lunar Year, the most ancient and ceremonious of pageants. He was decorated by the king of Luang Prabang. The brown kinds of Asia rendered him honor. But for the most part his book is a record of the common people, their social customs, history, religions, their work and their household lives.

For those who have read other of Mr Franck's books this new one will prove equally entertaining. It is the kind of a book to read in idle moments when one desires to gratify a longing to travel, listlessly, irrelevantly, indolently. Mr Franck is a keen observer, a painstaking recorder of interesting events and an experienced writer. You never squander your money when you buy a Franck book in lieu of a ticket and start out on a journey under his guidance.

T. S.

(*Continued from page 268*)

we still had a debt on the first building of a $1000. This money was provided by the independent church in Hong Kong, Yong T. Park pastor, and it came without solicitation.

The Educational Commisson

In July 1924, at the request of the American Chinese Educational Commission which provides the American teachers, I was asked to return to the States and act as their Field Agent in securing a few more systematic givers for the salaries of the teachers. In working for this Commission, I frequently found myself in large cities where the Chinese were conducting large Restaurants, catering to the American people. There were also Sunday Schools for the Chinese in some of these cities. As practically all the Chinese in the States come from the Kwong Tung province, and as I had lived so many years among them, naturally I spoke their language, and incidentally I knew several of the Chinese managers of these Restaurants, and became acquainted with several students who served as waiters in these Restaurants, thus earning money for their education, I was well received in these places and carried away considerable money for the Mei Wa School. I frequently called on Chinese merchants and working people, bear in mind that these were all Chinese, and all were persuaded that their country needed more and better schools.

One wintry Saturday, I reached Hartford. Ct. In the afternoon I visited three Chinese Restaurants, but only received $30. as they were small concerns. On Sunday afternoon, I attended the Chinese Bible Association, in the Immanuel Congregational church. Here I met the American Superintendent and a few of his teachers. After a few words in English to them, I spoke in Chinese to the 27 pupils, all Chinese laundrymen. At the close, a collection was taken up which amounted to $98. in notes, no silver. Two dollars more were added, making an even $100. Then a motion was made that $50. be taken from the general Treasury, and carried.

In Honolulu we have a standing Committee for the Mei Wa School. This Committee had raised several thousand dollars for us on two former occasions. On my return to China last July, I spent six days with them, and came away with another $1000. Thus, within five years, we have raised from among the Chinese about $55,000. Gold, and have

(*Continued on page VI*)

The Report on

EXTRATERRITORIALITY

Copies of the Report of the International Commission which investigated the Practice of Extraterritoriality in China may be obtained by addressing The China Weekly Review, enclosing the sum of $1,00 to cover cost and postage.

The Report contains four sections as follows:

Part I.—Present Practice of Extraterritoriality in China.

Part II.—Laws and Judicial System of China.

Part III.—Administration of Justice in China.

Part IV.—Recommendations.

In addition there is an appendix containing the Declaration of the President of China to reform the laws and administration of justice; a summary of clauses from the treaties containing the Extraterritorial provisions; a list of modern Chinese courts and prisons and a report of the Committee which toured North and Central China investigating conditions.

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Lou Cho Bin, Manager of the Mo Chang Cotton Yarn House.
Cheng Song Ding, Manager of the Zung Shen Cotton Yarn House.
Kuan Chun Mow, Manager of the O'Tung Cotton Yarn House.

—Auditors—

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American Gold Bond Quotations

Name of Security	Coupon Rate %	Date of Maturity	Sale Price Jan. 20th.	Sale Price Jan. 27th.	Approx. Yield to Maturity Jan. 27th.
Szecho-Slovak Govt. Sinking Fund Loan...	8	Oct. 1, 1952	105	107	7.40
Cuban Domin. Sugar Co. 1st Lien S. F. Loan...	7½	Nov. 1, 1944	100⅛	100	7.50
Republic of Chile S. F. Loan	7	Nov 1, 1942	100⅜	100⅜	6.90
Argentine Government Ser. "A".....	6	Sept. 1, 1957	98¼	98⅝	6.10
German Governments S. F. Loan.....	7	Oct. 15, 1949	107⅞	107¾	6.30
Kingdom of Norway S. F. Loan.....	6	Aug. 15, 1943	102¼	102	5.80
Deutsche Renten Bank 1st Lien Farm Loan	7%	Sept. 15, 1950	103¼	103	6.75
Can. Pac. R. R. Co. Debenture Stock.....	4	Perpetual	85½	85¼	4.69
Belgian Government S. F. Loan.....	6	Jan. 1, 1955	95⅞	96¾	6.25
Andes Copper Mining Co. Debentures.....	7	Jan. 1, 1943	108½	107⅞	6.25
German General Electric Co. S.F. Loan....	7	Jan. 15, 1940	105	106	6.40
Saxon Public Works Inc. 1st Mtge. Guaranteed S. F. Loan....	7	Feb. 1. 1945	103½	103½	6.65
Cuban Northern R. R. Co. 1st Mtge. Loan....	6	July 1, 1966	101	102½	5.85
Dodge Brothers Inc. Debentures	6	May 1, 1940	95⅝	95¼	6.50
Republic of Haiti.....	6	Oct. 1, 1952	99¾	99½	6.05
Czecho Slovak Government Ext. S.F. Loan..	7½	Oct. 1, 1945	105¾	106	6.90
Kingdom of Italy, Ext. S. F. Loan.....	7	Dec. 1, 1951	95⅞	96½	7.30

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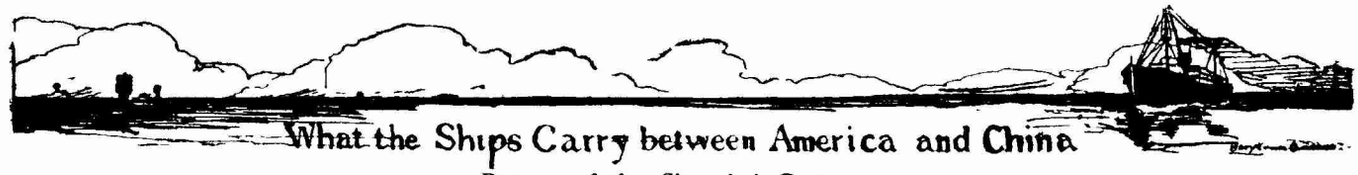

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President Adams, December 30.

To Boston.

Silk, Waste:		
Other Ports..Bls.	13 Pls.	38.65
Nutgalls.....	,,	672
Skins, Goat, Untanned	,,	338

To New Bedford.

Silk Waste:		
Shanghai....Bls.	6 Pls.	17.38
Other Ports..	,, 71 ,,	206.37

To New York.

Silk Waste:		
Other Ports ..Bls.	3 Pls.	8.32
Antimony Crude	,,	840
,, Oxide	,,	420
,, Regulus ..	,,	1,260
Bristles, Assorted	,,	471
Egg Yolk Dried....	,,	84
Galangal	,,	64
Nutgalls.....	,,	672
Intestines, Pigs Salted	,,	77
Oil, Wood.....	,,	295
Rhubarb	,,	173
Skins, Goat, Untanned	,,	396
Carpets	Pcs.	51
Skins, Rabbit	,,	10,000

President Grant, December 30.

To Manila.

Silk Pongees, Waste Spun, Shanghai	Pls.	1,85
Beans.....	,,	947
Chestnuts.....	,,	344
Cotton Socks	,,	2
,, Towels	,,	5
,, Yarn, Grey, Shanghai	,,	19
Dates, Preserved	,,	16
Groundnuts, Kernels ..	,,	949
Hams	,,	300
Lard.....	,,	482
Nankeens	,,	47
Oil, Groundnut	,,	1,025
Seeds, Melon	,,	53
Vermicelli	,,	13
Walnuts, in Shell.....	,,	43
Eggs, Fresh	Mille	811
,, Preserved	,,	20
Skins, Doe	Pcs.	3,670

Elkton, December 30.

From U. S. A.

Flour, Corn	Pls.	42
Glucose	,,	68
Gum, Arabic	,,	6
Tobacco, Leaf	,,	226

From Philippine Islands.

Alcohol, Rectified	Galls.	21,600
Drums	Pcs.	100

City of Glasgow, December 31.

From U. S. A.

Leadfoil and Tinfoil...	Pls.	7
Paper, Coated	,,	1,046
Tobacco, Leaf	,,	5,622

President Adams, December 31.

From U. S. A.

Bedsteads	Pcs.	96
Clocks	,,	48
Motor-cars.....	,,	10
Motor-trucks	,,	40
Oilcloth	,,	50
Typewriters	,,	15
Cotton Piece Goods, Unclassed	Yds.	6,532
Artificial Silk and Cotton Piece Goods .	,,	3,742
Cotton, Raw..Bls	150 Pls.	595
Woolen Yarn.....	,,	32
Aluminium Plates	,,	17
Iron Pipes	,,	50
Lead, in Pigs	,,	1,680
Tinned Plates, Plain ..	,,	842
Almonds.....	,,	19
Bronze Powder.....	,,	11
Cement	,,	1,165
Cuttle-fish	,,	86
Fruits, Canned	,,	9
,, Dried	,,	9
Indigo Paste, Artificial: 20 per cent.....	,,	2,958
Ink, Printing.....	,,	134
Leather, Calf	,,	3
,, Patent.....	,,	66
Milk, Evaporated.....	,,	467
Oranges, Fresh	,,	47
Paper, Writing	,,	8
,, Unclassed	,,	308
Raisins	,,	1,179
Soda, Unclassed	,,	180
Sulphur, Black.....	,,	1,567
Tobacco, Prepared	,,	30
Hosiery	Doz.	81
Quaker Oats	,,	150
Sardines	,,	400
Paint	Galls.	204
Rum	,,	9,200
Cigarettes .....*Mille*		2,050
Cigars.....	,,	7
Infants' Food.....	Hk Tls.	9,777
Dyes, Aniline *Pkgs.*	57 ,,	6,484
Treasure:		
Silver Bars	,,	868,403

President Lincoln, Jan. 5.

To Yokohama.

Nutgalls	Pls.	100

To Honolulu.

Ducks, Dried.....	Pls.	4
Carpets .....Hk.	Tls.	2,257

To San Francisco.

Silk Piece Goods	Pls.	1,23
,, Pongees, Honan..	,,	10,17
,, ,, other Kinds, .	,,	2,90
Tea, Black, Congou, Shanghai	,,	2
Tea, Green, other Kinds, Shanghai	,,	2
Tea, Green: Gunpowder, Ningpo	,,	561
Books	,,	14
Brassware	,,	158
Egg Albumen, Dried..	,,	15
,, ,, Moist .	,,	20
,, Yolk, Moist	,,	56
Feathers	,,	62
Oil, Groundnut	,,	27
,, Sesamum Seed ...	,,	170
,, Wood	,,	13,875
Walnuts, Kernels.....	,,	268
Woodware	,,	24
Fungus, White	Catties	15
Kittysols	Pcs.	1,000
Carpets.....Hk.	Tls.	8,049
Treasure: Gold Bars	,,	583,055

To Papeete.

Cigarettes	Pls.	18

To Los Angeles.

Feathers	Pls.	65
Oil, Tea	,,	333

To Houston.

Hair, Human.....	Pls.	27

To Charleston.

Hair, Human.....	Pls.	60

To Baltimore.

Egg Yolk, Dried....	Pls.	74

To Boston.

Walnuts, Kernels.....	Pls.	124

To Philadelphia.

Egg Albumen, Dried ..	Pls.	65
Rhubarb.....	,,	50
Skins, Goat, Untanned	,,	529

To New York.

Silk Pongees, Shantung	Pls.	8.86
Brassware	,,	40
Bristles, Assorted.....	,,	53
Feathers, ...	,,	132
Hair, Human	,,	20
Intestines, Pigs Salted.	,,	69
Oil, Wood.....	,,	560
Skins, Goat, Untanned	,,	63
,, Rabbit	Pcs.	10,000
Fans, Straw	,,	28,800
Hair Nets .....Gross		3,129
Carpets .....Hk.	Tls.	4,105

Havana Maru, January 6.

To San Francisco.

Tallow, Vegetable	Pls.	814

To Los Angeles.

Oil, Tea.....	Pls.	279

To New York.

Tea, Green: Gunpowder, Ningpo.	Pls.	56
Bristles, Assorted	,,	50
Egg Albumen, Dried ..	,,	252
,, Yolk, Dried	,,	117
Hides, Cow	,,	498
Nutgalls	,,	645
Oil, Wood	,,	1,127
Hats, Raphia Fibre	Pcs.	1,620

Africa Maru, January 6.

To Seattle.

Fire-crackers	Pls.	149

To Hoboken.

Silk, Raw, Steam Filature: White, Shanghai Bls 20	Pls.	20.07

To Chicago.

Silk, Raw, Steam Filature: White, Shanghai Bls. 10	Pls.	9.95
White, other Ports Bls. 10	,,	8.00

To New York.

Silk, Raw, Re-reeled: White, other Ports Bls. 124.....	Pls.	125.75
Silk, Raw, Steam Filature: White, Shanghai Bls. 110	,,	109.56
Silk, Raw Filature: Wild other Ports Bls. 40.....	,,	40.64

(*Continued from page 270*)

January 28.—Japanese Minister Yoshizawa informs Chinese at Sino-Japanese treaty conference, Peking that Japan is willing to grant tariff autonomy but that Chine should first abolish likin and adopt a tariff based on 'fairness and reasonability'—Caang Tso-ling suddenly decides to return to Mukden over the New Year period—Nationalist officials at Hankow decides to notify the labor and business unions that the pratice of arresting and insulting persons must be stopped—Nationalist decide that any crime committed in connection with the anti-foreign movement will be dealt with by the Court of Appeals—*Kuo Wen* report from Hankow states that British merchants attach more importance to security to their businesses and persons than to the control of the Concession—The Sumatra, a Dutch crusier will arrive in Shanghai on Feb. 13.

January 29.—Gen. Pao Kwan-chen arrives in Hsuchowfu from Honan and stated that Gen. Tien Wei-chin has been designated by Wu Pei-fu to manage military affairs in Southern Honan and that he is entirely competent to manage affairs and is fully loyal to Marshal Wu—Gen. Chang Chung-chang, tupan of Shantung instructs Gen. Pi Shu-chen, defense commissioner of Tsingtao to send the Chinese gunboats at Tsingtao to the South—Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway administration will hold celebration of fourth anniversary of the rendition of the railway from Japanese control—Serious banditry and kidnappings develops on Chefoo-Weihsien motor road—Kellogg statement on China policy attracts great attention in Japan, the Japanese claiming that it accords with Japanese policy and means a complete change of the Powers relations with China—Sir Francis Aglen, Inspector General of Customs informs Peking Cabinet that owing to differences among Powers there is no alternative except to permit the local officials to impose the surtaxes which starts rumors that the Peking Cabinet may attempt to replace Sir Francis Aglen with another appointee—Sir Miles Lampson explains to Wellington Koo the reasons for the dispatch of British troops to Shanghai and also explains Britains new policy toward China—Japanese *Toho* agency report states that 30,000 persons, including many foreigners have evacuated Foochow since the occupation by the Southern forces—Chinese withdraw troops from British concession at Kiukiang and replace them with 20 police; British subjects still taking refuge on gunboat in harbor; Chinese begin imposition of 2½ percent surtax at Kiukiang—Mr. Saburi of Japanese Foreign Office arrives in Peking following tour of Central and South China.

In the United States Court for China

In re the Matter of the Estate of SARAH A. FISHER, Deceased.

Cause No. 2886
Estate No. 643
NOTICE

Pursuant to an Order of said Court, notice is hereby given to all persons having claims against the estate of SARAH A. FISHER, deceased, to present the same with vouchers to the undersigned, on or before July 11, 1927, and all persons owing debts to said deceased are hereby notified to make payment of the same in due course to the undersigned.

JAMES B. DAVIES
c/o Davies & Bryan,
4 Hongkong Road
Shanghai.

January 10, 1927.

Chih-Tze University

持志大學

— CURRICULUM —

College of Arts—

Chinese Literature, English Literature and Potitical Science department.

College of Commerce—

Accounts, Business Administration, Banking and Finance, Foreign Trade and Insurance departments.

MIDDLE SCHOOL

(中學部)

For detailed information please address registrar

President: Dr. S.C. Ho *Dean*: Dr. S.M. Ho

KIANGWAN ROAD—SHANGHAI

(*Continued from page 271*)

17 acres of land, one building completed and a second not yet completed, and have a debt of only $1000. The property has more than doubled in value during the five years.

By this time you will agree with me that we have had friends among the Cantonese. Let me assure you that they are our friends still. Perhaps you do not agree with me. You ask: Is it not true that the student body is causing all the trouble in Kwong Tung and all the other provinces, causing both strikes and boycotts and a general anti-Foreign feeling? This must be admitted, but bear in mind that these students are but partially awake, while the masses are slumbering, and that they have lost their mooring. What they are doing, they are doing in ignorance. They have a zeal for their native land, but it is not tempered with knowledge.

Mr. Lyons', Testimony

General Secretary Lyon of the YMCA tells us that in the "Truth Weekly" for June 21st 1925, there is an Article entitled "Comments on the Present Situation," by Wu Chen Chun a Christian, and an adviser to the Chinese Government. He says:

"National reforms are long overdue. Whenever an emergency in foreign relations arises, those in authority are compelled to meet it tardily and weakly, a habit which does not command the respect of the foreigners. The mere mention of it to us is most painful. Fortunately however, in the last few years, a popular spirit has come into being. In each new movement of the people, the students have been the mainspring; they have given the Government their backing; they have made national issues live, for this, the student class deserves the honor paid them by the people. But with it, all the students need to realize that they are assuming a very grave responsibility. All who undertake responsibilities need far seeing minds. Respectfully do I bring to the attention of every student these words of Confucius-'The leader I would trust is the one who exercises caution in the presence of emergencies, and whose achievements spring from a passion for planning Analects 7:10 He tells us that the students have shown both Altruism and courage and adds these words: "But the future peace or peril of the nation is involved in the present crisis; unless it is handled also with intelligence how great the risk involved.'"

That students are not using intelligence may be gathered from the following-our Mei Wa School, the property of which belongs to the Chinese, was also much excited even before the shooting affair at Shameen, the Concession, at Canton, on June 23rd. One of the students came back that day and said to Mrs. Nelson, who had been acting Principal during my absence," We are going to kill all the Foreigners and conduct the schools ourselves." Mrs. Nelson said: "If that is the case, why don't you begin by killing me?" To this the youth replied: "O'h,, Mrs. Nelson, we students say more than we really mean."

Certain it is that the students are responsible for much of the present trouble, but what they have done hitherto, they have done in ignorance. Still, they have started a blaze. Perhaps the Youth's Companion is right when it states in the July 2nd Number that:-"Some people see the hand of Moscow in the disorder both at Canton and Shanghai. It is not probable that the Soviets have set those fires, but it is dou btless the case that their agents are on hand to throw any inflammable materials which may be available on the blaze. The Russian revolutionists have turned their energies eastward instead of westward of late, and it is no secret that they hope to stir up in China, and in other oriental countries, revolts and revolutions that will destroy that commerce and ruin the prestige of Great Britain, France and the United States in that part of the world."

My Friends, the Cantonese have fallen before the Bolshevik propaganda. The question is, Will they realize this in time, and turn about and drive the spoilers from their midst? Judging from reports from Canton, the anti-Reds are organizing. But will simply driving out the "Reds" settle the matter for *all* China? No! China must get together and present an unbroken front against her common enemy. She must put her own house in order. "A kingdom divided against itself, cannot stand." When the Chinese are again united, they can then command the respect of the nations and the term "Extraterritoriality" will then become obsolete'.

I have had confidence in the Cantonese in particular and in China's millions in general, and I have it still. Give China time. Give her moral support. Have faith in this most ancient people who have been spared more than 4000 years. Surely some good will yet come out of China.

American Chinese Educational Commission, Canton, China.